THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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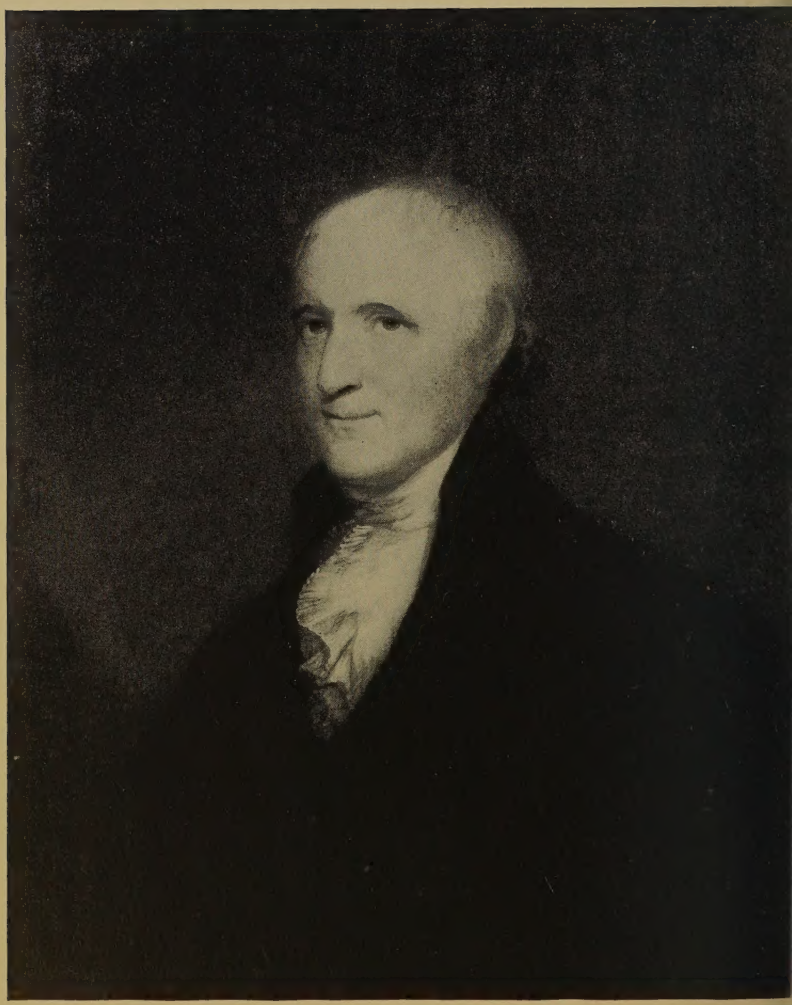

JUDGE EGBERT BENSON (1746–1833)

President, N.Y. Commissioners for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies
1777–78

Portrait by Ezra Ames

Owned by the Fogg Museum, Harvard University

THE NEW-YORK
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QUARTERLY

July 1958

VOLUME XLII NUMBER THREE

New York: 170 *Central Park West*

COUNTERFEITING IN NEW YORK DURING THE REVOLUTION

by KENNETH SCOTT*

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR Patrick Gordon of Pennsylvania, in a speech to the Assembly of that province on March 29, 1727, with reference to counterfeiting affirmed:

> . . . it may not unjustly be compared to the poisoning the waters of a Countrey, the blackest & most detestable practice that is known, & which the laws of Nations & those of War condemn even in declared Enemies, for as that destroyes the lives of the innocent in taking their natural Food, this would as effectually overthrow all Credit, Commerce & Traffick, and the mutual Confidence that must Subsist in Society to enable the members of it to procure to themselves & Families their necessary Bread.[1]

* Dr. Scott is Professor of Modern Languages, Wagner College, S. I., N.Y., and the author of *Counterfeiting in Colonial America* (Oxford University Press, 1957) and of books and articles on counterfeiting in the several colonies. The Society wishes to join the author in thanking Mr. Eric P. Newman, of St. Louis, Mo., for providing from his collection the bills and counterfeits illustrated and for certain leads and information which have proved most helpful.

[1] *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: 1852), III, 268.

Yet a little less than fifty years later the British Government adopted this "blackest & most detestable practice" by deliberately counterfeiting the currency both of the Continental Congress and of the individual States.

The idea may, it has been suggested,[2] have been given to the English by Dr. Benjamin Church and his brother-in-law, a printer named John Fleming.

It was discovered in September 1775 that Church, Director General of Hospitals of the Continental Army and an able writer in support of Whig policies, was actually in treasonable correspondence with the enemy. Then, on February 14, 1776, Arthur Lee, the American representative in London, wrote, in a letter addressed to Lieutenant Governor Colden of New York in the event of its capture but apparently sent by messenger to Samuel Adams: "Great expectations, too are entertained from treachery in the provincials. Dr. Church was in league with others, particularly Fleming the printer. This I have from a ministerial authority which may be depended on. They will endeavor to depreciate the Congress paper by throwing in forged notes."[3]

In this endeavor the enemy's efforts were massive and his success was acknowledged by the patriots. Thus, an appeal by Congress for popular support of the American cause pointed out in May 1778, that a principal reason why "your money hath depreciated" was "because their [the enemy's] agents have villainously counterfeited your bills."[4] And Benjamin Franklin, in an essay published in 1786, summed up the result in perspective, as follows:

> Paper money was in those times our universal currency. But, it being the instrument with which we combated our enemies, they resolved to deprive us of its use by depreciating it; and the most effectual means they

[2] Eric P. Newman, "Counterfeit Continental Currency Goes to War," *The Numismatist*, 70 (1957), 5–16, 137–47.

[3] Francis Wharton (ed.), *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), I, 521, 657; II, 78.

[4] "An Address of the Congress to the Inhabitants of the United States of America," *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), XI, 480 (May 8, 1778).

could contrive was to counterfeit it. The artists they employed performed so well, that immense quantities of these counterfeits, which issued from the British government in New York, were circulated among the inhabitants of all the States, before the fraud was detected. This operated considerably in depreciating the whole mass, first, by the vast additional quantity, and next by the uncertainty in distinguishing the true from the false, and the depreciation was a loss to all and the ruin of many.[5]

Responsibility for this wholesale counterfeiting could be fixed upon the highest British officials when an American privateer intercepted a ship carrying a letter written on January 30, 1780, in Savannah by Sir Henry Clinton to Lord George Germain, British Secretary of State for North America. In the message Clinton, after referring to the "futility of calculations founded on the failure of the American currency," continued:

> No experiments suggested by your Lordship; no assistance that could be drawn from the power of gold, or the arts of counterfeiting, have been left unattempted. . . . I shall . . . continue while I have the honor to command in America, assiduous in the application of those means entrusted to my care; if they cannot work its [the American currency's] destruction, yet they embarrass Government.[6]

A Mr. De Lisle, writing from Morristown, New Jersey, on June 9, 1777, in a letter addressed to "My dear Count," referred in the following passage to the British generals:

> They have hired printers to traduce the Congress and the army; and, to complete all, they have made and attempted to circulate large quantities of counterfeit continental money among the Americans, aiming thereby, at one blow, to cut their sinews of war. Their folly in this manoeuvre exceeded their villainy; for they weekly advertised their money for distribution, in a New-York paper.[7]

Andrew Billings, writing from Poughkeepsie on August 25, 1777, to Pierre Van Cortlandt, observed: "Counterfeit money is

[5] "The Retort Courteous," *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin,* ed. by Albert Henry Smyth (New York: Macmillan, 1907), X, 111.

[6] *The Remembrancer, or Impartial Depository of Public Events* (London: J. Almon, 1780), X, 40.

[7] *New Jersey Gazette,* Jan. 7, 1778, p. 1.

detected, and all like to center in one place if followed."[8] The one place Billings had in mind was doubtless New York City, where as early as January 1776, if not before, Continental currency was being counterfeited on board H.M.S. *Phoenix* in New York Harbor.[9] To be sure, the *Hartford Courant* of November 23, 1779, in reporting the arrest of three counterfeiters in Massachusetts, described them as "part of a chain of near 500, dispersed from one end of this continent to the other, supposed by the British Government, or its Generals in America." Yet all the evidence points to the City of New York as the center of such activities, as being in general the source of supply upon which Tories and rogues alike drew in their activities as passers. Thus, Captain Thomas Anburey, writing from Jones' plantation near Charlottesville in Virginia on May 12, 1779, made the following comment about counterfeits from New York City:

> The depreciation of Congress money arises from the vast quantity of the counterfeit, which any person who hazards the risk, may have gratis, at New-York, to circulate throughout the province, and to point out to you what confusion there must be at the conclusion of this unhappy contest, on whichever side it may terminate, when I inform you, that there are many persons now in actual possession of plantations, which they purchased with the counterfeit money they brought from New-York.[9a]

The volume and ramifications of this counterfeiting activity,

[8] *Minutes of the Committee and First Commission for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York* (*Collections of The New-York Historical Society*, LVII [N.Y.: The New-York Historical Society, 1924–25]), II, 443. This work will henceforth be cited as *Min. Com. and First Comm. N.Y.*

[9] Kenneth Scott, "A British Counterfeiting Press in New York Harbor, 1776," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXIX (1955), 117–20.

[9a] *Travels through the Interior Parts of America; in a Series of Letters* (London: William Lane, 1789), II, 399–400.

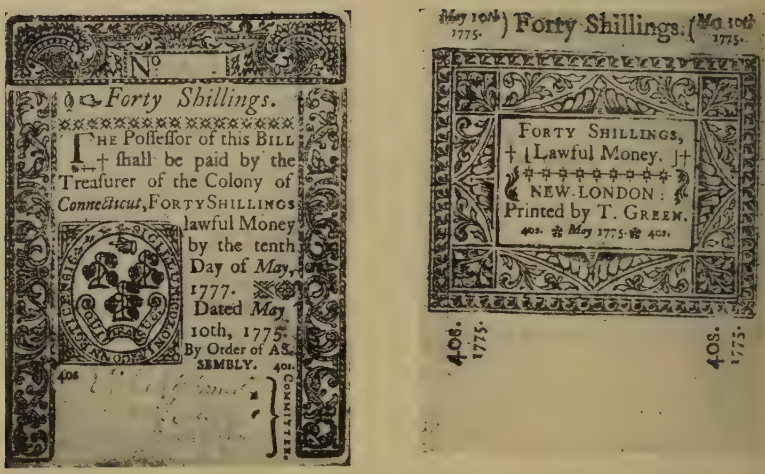
There is some evidence, however, that England itself was a source of some of the counterfeits passed in America. An entry in Allan McLane's ms. diary (NYHS), II, 56 (Jany. 1780), reads: "Moved from Burlington in prsed Slayes to Sandehook surprised the Enemy at the lighthouse brought of[f] 100 prisoners and a Million of Counterfeit bills ameditly from Great Britain well executed." But Major Henry Lee, in his letter of January 17, 1780, reporting the same affair to General Washington, said: "The counterfeit money I have sent to the loan office to be burnt. Unfortunately the owner of it, was mortally wounded and left behind [at the lighthouse] so that no discovery [*of its source?*] can be made."—*Writings of George Washington*, XVII, 422n. It would seem doubtful, therefore, that McLane could have known that the counterfeits originated in England rather than in New York City.

centered in New York City, may be reconstructed by piecing together, chronologically, the scattered records of patriot intelligence reports, of British-inspired journalism on the subject, and, most revealingly, of American attempts to apprehend and punish the counterfeiters and their agents. These attempts began in the first year of the war and involved not only problems of detection and policing but also serious new problems of jurisprudence. The details are complicated and petty; the records, incomplete and therefore sometimes frustrating; but from this first essay at assembling them, and presenting their story as it unfolded in time, a clearer picture of this aspect of the Revolutionary struggle emerges than was heretofore possible.

With the change of government which had occurred after the outbreak of hostilities, it is not surprising that there was some confusion and doubt as to how to cope with counterfeiters. Thus on November 7, 1775, Cornelius Van Veghten, chairman of the Saratoga Committee of Safety, wrote for advice to the Albany Committee: "How," he asked, "is the Person to be dealt with, that counterfeits or forges Albany Committee Currency, or the Continental Currency, or the Boston Notes. The Committee of this District have a matter of this kind before them, and beg the favour of your answer by the Bearer, that we may know how to Conduct—the matter is new[;] give us your advice." The reply of the Albany Committee, dated November 11th, was as follows:

> [We] are of Opinion, That the Notes signed by the direction of this Committee are to be considered as private promissory Notes, the same observation holds good with respect to the Massachusetts Bay Notes Signed by Gardner, Forging or altering any Instrument, and the passing it as the Act of the Person whose Names are counterfeited is in the Eye of the Law deemed a Forgery and punishable by Indictment, applying this to the Case by you stated We are of Opinion that Application ought to be made to a Magistrate, who upon due proof of the Circumstances will commit the Offender to Goal or otherwise as the Case may arise admit him to Bail in order for his Tryal.[10]

[10] *Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence 1775–1778* (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1923), I, 291.



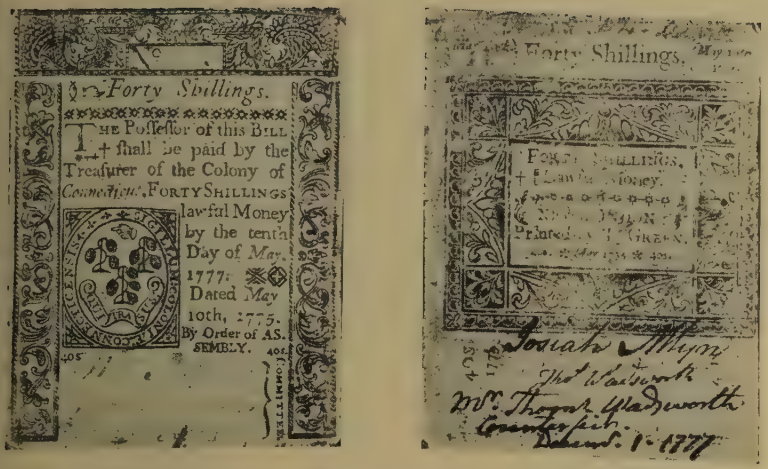
CONNECTICUT FORTY-SHILLING BILL OF MAY 10, 1775

Owned, with the counterfeit opposite, by Mr. Eric P. Newman

There are no further details concerning the matter which was before the Saratoga Committee and, indeed, it was not until April of the next year that a serious case of counterfeiting came to the notice of the authorities. The *New York Packet* of April 18, 1776, printed the following warning: "The Public are desired to beware of counterfeit Connecticut Forty Shilling Bills now passing among us, of the emission of May 10, 1775. They are signed William Pitkin, Tho. Seymour, and Jesse Root, and though they are upon the whole a good imitation of the true bills, yet a very little attention will be sufficient to distinguish them." The notice then gave numerous distinguishing marks by which the false currency might be detected.[11]

The next day, April 19th, Colonel Gilbert Drake, a member of the Westchester County Committee of Safety, brought to the State Committee of Safety a five-dollar bill emitted by the Pro-

[11] The full account of these marks may be found in Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York* (N.Y.: The American Numismatic Society, 1953), 192–93.



COUNTERFEIT OF CONNECTICUT FORTY-SHILLING BILL OPPOSITE

Engraved by Henry Dawkins at Cold Spring, L.I., in 1776

vincial Congress which had been altered to ten dollars. The State Committee promptly dispatched to Thomas Thomas, Chairman of the Westchester County Committee, the following communication, which indicates the need of the authorities for advice in dealing with counterfeiting:

This Committee having received information that some of the bills of the late emission of money struck by the Congress, for the public service, have been counterfeited, and are now passing in your county, you are requested forthwith to call the general committee of the county together, and take every step in your power to discover the counterfeiter or counterfeiters, and those who have passed the said bills knowing them to be counterfeit. For this purpose you are to order the persons accused to be brought before you, and to examine on oath the witnesses for and against the accused, and transmit the whole of your proceedings to this Committee, or to the Congress, if then sitting, that they may make further order therein. If upon the evidence that may be offered, your committee shall be of opinion that any of the persons accused are guilty, in that case you are forthwith to order them into close custody; and if upon the whole of the evidence it should appear to you doubtful whether they are guilty, in that case you are to take good security that the prisoner or

prisoners appear before the Congress at such time and place as they may appoint. But if, after hearing the whole of the evidence, you should be of opinion that the accused are not guilty, you are to discharge them.[12]

The fake Connecticut forty-shilling bills, described in the *New York Packet* of April 18, 1776, had been made, it was discovered, by an able engraver named Henry Dawkins, who had come to America some time after 1750. Dawkins was in jail in New York, probably for debt, in 1775 or early in 1776. Israel and Isaac Young, two brothers of Cold Spring on Long Island, who were inclined to do some counterfeiting, secured his release, gave him money with which to pay the rent on his shop, and established him as a boarder in Israel's house.

There the engraver rubbed off with a burnisher some of the forty-shilling bills of Connecticut and Isaac Young signed them. When these bills were in circulation and were described in the newspapers, Dawkins used the description to correct errors in his plate. Then he sent Phillip Young, another brother, to one Woolhaupter in New York City with a note, signed "Cox," ordering a rolling press, and with one of the false forty-shilling notes for payment. Phillip paid down the counterfeit money and, out of his own pocket, made up the residue of the cost, which was eleven pounds and twelve shillings. With this press Dawkins turned out greatly improved counterfeits and Isaac Young doubtless made good use of the press and plate in addition.

Before long, news of what was going on reached the Provincial Congress of New York, for on May 10, 1776, Jacob Sharpe produced a letter from Charles Friend of Westbury in Queens County, who wrote expressing his belief that Continental money was being counterfeited on Long Island. As a result of the letter, Friend was summoned, and he stated that he had heard from John Anderson of Cold Spring that Dawkins and Israel and Isaac Young were forging money, while Isaac Ketcham was probably concerned with them.

[12] *Journals of the Provincial Congress of the State of New York* (Albany: Thurlow Weed, 1842), I, 414. This work will henceforth be cited as *Journ. Prov. Congr.*

The Congress acted swiftly, for on the evening of May 11th Captain Jeremiah Wool crossed the East River to Long Island and proceeded to Huntington, where he was joined by Thomas Weeks. With other aids these men arrived at Isaac Young's house at two o'clock on Sunday morning. Under the bed in Dawkins' room the men found engraver's tools, while, by prying with a bayonet, they opened a door to a garret, where a printing press, an imperfect imitation of a Connecticut forty-shilling bill and unfinished counterfeits were discovered. The press and other evidence were transported by wagon to Williams' Tavern, to which Henry Dawkins and John Henderson were soon brought under guard.

Further investigation indicated that, besides Israel and Isaac Young, Isaac Ketcham and Townsend Hewlet were concerned in the business. Ketcham had sought to secure suitable paper in Philadelphia after a certain Levi Lott of Brunswick Landing had tried in vain to obtain satisfactory paper or materials for making it.

Dawkins, Israel and Isaac Young and Ketcham were jailed in New York City, and on May 25th the two Youngs petitioned the Provincial Congress to admit them to bail. In their memorial they pretended that Dawkins came to Israel's house and asked to be taken in as a boarder. Dawkins presently explained that he could make a good living if he had a printing press, since several hatters were interested in having him print papers for them to put in their hats. At this Israel obtained a press for him from New York, and only then did the engraver inform Israel that "he could make as good money as ever was, undiscovered." At this, so they said, both Youngs were shocked and would have nothing to do with such a sinful scheme. The Congress, however, far from favorably impressed, tabled the petition. In addition, hearing that the four counterfeiters were meditating escape from the custody of guards appointed by General Washington at the request of various members of the Provincial Congress, it was ordered that the prisoners be put in irons and that no person be admitted to

them without license from the Congress. On June 1st, indeed, George Young requested and obtained permission to speak to his sons, Israel and Isaac, but only in the presence of the officer in command of the guard over them.

Isaac, upon examination, admitted that he suspected Dawkins was making money, for Israel once told him that the engraver claimed he could counterfeit currency. Further Isaac disclaimed all knowledge of the press and protested that neither he nor his brother would pass counterfeits or countenance the making of them.

Israel, when questioned, like his brother admitted that he had suspected Dawkins, for the engraver had sent him to New York for a rolling press and on one occasion he had seen on the engraver's bed an unsigned forty-shilling Connecticut bill. He had he added, never seen Dawkins engraving but had observed him frequently drawing pictures. As for the secret door and stairs leading to the place where the press was kept, Israel assured the authorities that these were made before he ever came to the house.

Before long another of the Youngs, Phillip, fell under suspicion. Jacob Brush was brought before the Provincial Congress and, from his examination, it appeared that Phillip was privy to the counterfeiting, so his immediate arrest was ordered. At the same time the committee of Huntington was instructed to have his house searched for plates or false bills. Phillip was seized and taken before the Congress by Thomas Weeks and Eliphalet Brush but the search of his house and of the dwellings of George and Isaac Young and John Williams revealed nothing pertaining to counterfeiting.

In the Congress a debate arose as to whether Phillip Young should be jailed or not and finally, by a vote of nineteen to ten, it was ordered that he be committed to close custody. Permission, however, was given for George Young to speak with his sons and for Samuel Hopkins to converse, in the presence of the commander of the guard, with Israel Young. As it seemed that Townsend Hewlet was also concerned in the money-making, Captain

Jeremiah Wool was directed to proceed with some four men to Long Island to apprehend Hewlet.

One of the gang, Isaac Ketcham, a prisoner in the old City Hall, on June 16th directed a petition to the Provincial Congress, in which he expressed a sense of shame and confusion for his past misconduct. When he was examined, soon after his arrest, by Alderman Waddle in the Congress chamber, he had been informed that he was to be admitted as evidence in the counterfeiting affair. He now pointed out that his wife had just died, his six children had no one to care for them, though some were dangerously ill, and he besought the legislators to release him for a few days in order that he might provide some proper persons to attend to his offspring.

Of much more interest to the Congress, no doubt, was his statement that he had something to reveal, not concerning his own affair, but about an entirely different matter.[13] The matter was one of importance and was likewise concerned to some degree with counterfeiting. About June 15th two soldiers of the Continental Army, Michael Lynch and Thomas Hickey, had been arrested and charged with attempting to pass counterfeit bills. They were, by order of the Provincial Congress, confined in the City Hall and copies of the affidavits and examinations relating to their case were forwarded to General Washington. On June 17th since the courts of judicature of New York were still held by authority derived from the British Crown and were therefore incompetent to conduct a full and impartial trial of the two soldiers, it was decided that they must be tried by a court martial.[14]

On the same day, presumably before the Congress reached

[13] For a discussion of the whole affair, see John Broome, "The Counterfeiting Adventures of Henry Dawkins," *American Notes and Queries*, 8 (1950), 179–84, and Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial America* (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1957), 260–62. See also *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts Relating to the War of the Revolution in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N.Y.* (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Co., 1868), I, 295–96, 308, 325 (this work will henceforth be cited as *Cal. Hist. Rev. Mss.*); *Journ. Prov. Congr.*, I, 469–73.

[14] *Journ. Prov. Congr.*, I, 495–96; *Cal. Hist. Rev. Mss.*, I, 324.

the above decision, the irons and fetters were removed from Ketcham and he was hastily led into the Congress chamber.[15] The story he then unfolded was that he had conversed in jail with Hickey and Lynch, who stated that an Irish blacksmith named Gilbert Horbush was to go on board a British man-of-war to fetch cutlasses; Horbush, who had been a regular in the last war and now kept a public house about thirty rods from their camp, was to be their captain and he had received money from H.M.S. *Asia* for supplying drinks to the Tory corps. The clerk of this corps was an Englishman named William Green of the Governor's Life Guards. Hickey and Lynch added that a constable named Taylor, who had also served in the last war, was to be their head. When the British fleet arrived they planned to cut down King's Bridge and some of the corps would go over to the regulars but others would remain to perpetrate acts of sabotage. The British would land on Long Island, Staten Island, and the Island of New York. Further, a Colonel Webb had come from the ships and was travelling about New England bribing men of note who could influence others.

The Tory corps had deferred appointing officers lest it should breed a wrangle among them and those who were disappointed should disclose what was afoot. Hickey and Lynch indicated that a number of Continental riflemen on Staten Island, the Cape Cod men, and some of the artillery had signed up. It was believed that the "hairy caps" might also be won over. On board the British fleet was a proclamation offering full pardon to all who would join the royal cause before the time of action, as well as a considerable encouragement as to land and houses.

The members of the Congress were charged to keep secret the information divulged by Ketcham and then they proceeded to examine Dawkins, who had previously sent a statement from jail in which he reiterated his previous oral assertions that Phillip

[15] *Journ. Prov. Congr.*, I, 496.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS (1752–1816)

By Pierre E. du Simitière

Engr. by B. Reading (London: 1783)

JOHN JAY (1745–1829)

By Pierre E. du Simitière, 1779

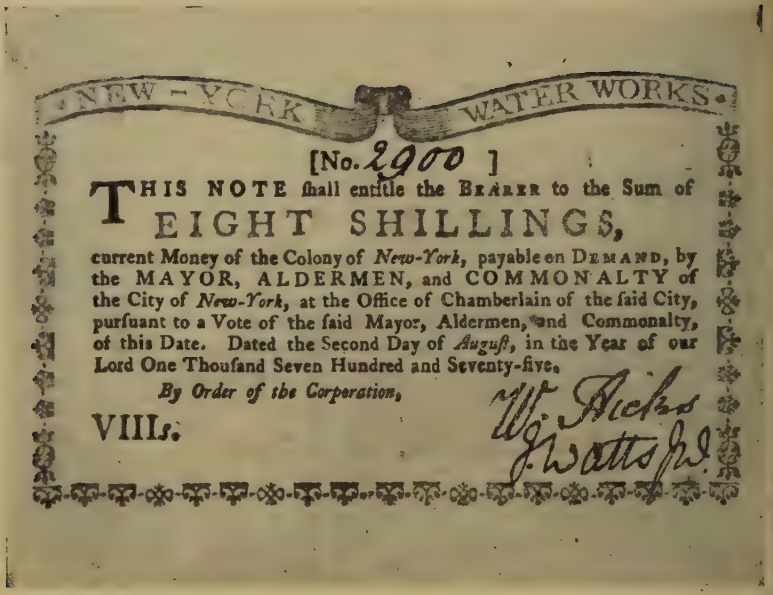
Engr. by Bénoit L. Prévost, 1781

Young had not been concerned in the counterfeiting scheme. The Congress became convinced that Phillip was innocent and ordered his immediate release.[16]

The plot revealed by Ketcham's evidence, as well as the counterfeiting, called for further investigation. On June 20th John Jay and Gouverneur Morris examined James Mason, who expressed his belief that Thomas Hickey, one of General Washington's guards, was involved in the plot. Mason further stated that Green had administered an oath to Hickey and other soldiers of Washington's guards and that Green was to have from Forbes a dollar for every man he should enlist.[17]

The Taylor mentioned by Ketcham as one of the plotters was almost certainly John Taylor. On June 26th James Campbell and Alexander Anderson made a sworn statement to the effect that about May 2d or 3d they were at the house of Mr. Ellsworth at

[16] *Ibid.*, I, 497.
[17] *Cal. Hist. Rev. Mss.*, I, 345.


NEW-YORK WATER WORKS
[No. 2900]
THIS NOTE shall entitle the BEARER to the Sum of
EIGHT SHILLINGS,
current Money of the Colony of New-York, payable on DEMAND, by the MAYOR, ALDERMEN, and COMMONALTY of the City of New-York, at the Office of Chamberlain of the said City, pursuant to a Vote of the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of this Date. Dated the Second Day of August, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-five.
By Order of the Corporation,
VIIIs.

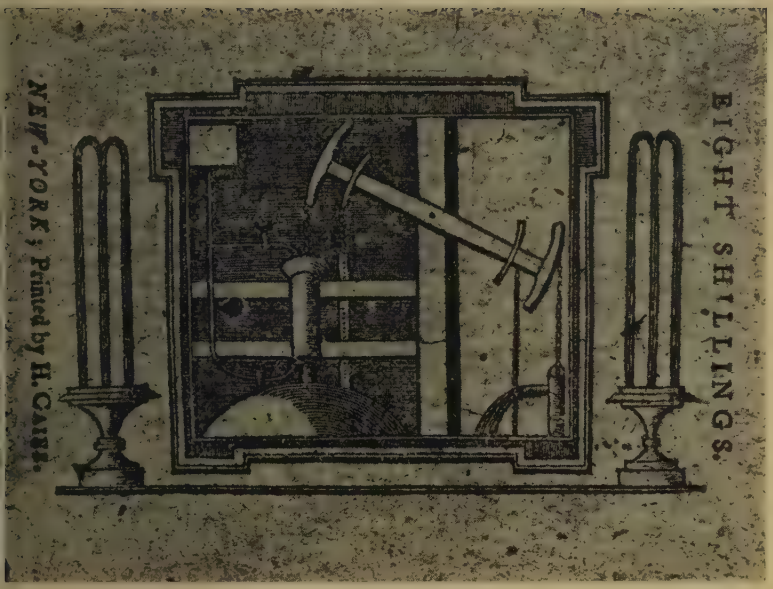
NEW YORK WATER WORKS EIGHT-SHILLING NOTE, 1775

Water Works notes were counterfeited aboard H.M.S. *Dutchess of Gordon*, 1776

Paules Hook when John Taylor, a man who they thought was "in low circumstances," came in, called for wine, pressed them to drink, pulled out a large number of bills and displayed a fat purse with gold and silver in it. He told them he had about him £500 from lands he had sold in Morris County, where he had been twice before and obtained £1,700 and expected to go there again and receive still more.[18]

The same day, June 26th, John Jay and Gouverneur Morris took the sworn statement of Israel Young, whose tongue had been loosened by six weeks in jail. When, he revealed, he was first incarcerated, he was put in the same room with a hatter named Thomas Vernon of New York City. Before long they discussed politics, whereupon Vernon said "he'd be damned if

[18] *Cal. Hist. Rev. Mss.*, I, 367.



BACK OF THE NOTE OPPOSITE (PRINTED BY HUGH GAINE, 1775)

From the collection of Mr. Eric P. Newman, St. Louis, Mo.

the Fleet did not come soon and let them all out." Vernon confessed that he had several times been on board the *Dutchess of Gordon*, where he had seen Richard Hewlet and Thomas Cornel as well as Governor Tryon, who talked very freely with them. Israel's statement continued as follows:

That they had on Board a number of Rivingtons Types and one of his printers—That he had written a Letter to the Gov^{r} the Monday before for money and that he expected the next Day to receive it—That the next Day the s^{d} Thomas rec^{d} a Letter which he said was from the Gov^{r} and also some water work money which he s^{d} they counterfeited on Board the Dutchess and he himself had seen them printing it off—That they had a chest of it—This Dep^{t} says that the money af^{d} resembled the said water work money so much that he sh^{d} have taken it for genuine but that the paper seemed to be rather thicker. the s^{d} Vernon further told this Dep^{t} that he kept a Pettiauger and she used to go after sand and so he got on Board the Dutchess and this Dep^{t} further saith that the s^{d} Vernon told him they were inlisting men in the Kings Service and that a Capt in Coll

M Dugalls Reg[t] whose name this Dep[t] cannot recollect had a Com[m] from Gov[r] Tryon for that purpose That a man whom the s[d] Vernon told this Dep[t] was the s[d] Cap[t] came one Day to the Door of the Room in which this Dep[t] and the s[d] Vernon were confined, and conversed with the s[d] Vernon thro the Hole of the Door but this Dep[t] did not overhear them. That when he went away Vernon told this Dep[t] that was the Cap[t] who was inlisting men for Gov[r] Tryon, and that he had got an hundred—The said Vernon also told this Dep[t] that he had by Gov[r] Tryon's orders engaged with Dawkins an Engraver who had been taken up on a charge of counterfeiting money, to go on Board the Dutchess and cut money Plates for the Gov[r] and that the Gov[r] was to give the s[d] Dawkins a hundred pound for his Trouble, and that the s[d] Vernon was to have carried him on Board had not Dawkins got drunk and told that the s[d] Vernon was going to carry him on Board, which being made known to the s[d] Vernon, he was afraid to attempt carrying him off at the time appointed, and that Dawkins immediately after disappeared—The s[d] Vernon further told this Dep[t] that he was in Goal with Dawkins before, That Dawkins left his Chest open and that he Vernon intending to take something out of his Chest and make him treat him for giving it to him again, opened the Chest and found in it a Plate to strike Pennsylvania money and kept it near a week that Dawkins when he missed it was very uneasy and that the s[d] Vernon again delivered it to him.

Israel's statement concluded with a report of what Lynch and Hickey had told him when they were confined in the same room. They said they would be damned if they would fight any more for America and asserted that there were seven hundred men enlisted for the King. The night before the fleet arrived they were to be notified and repair to King's Bridge to join the British. Their names on the roll of those enlisted were apparently on board the man-of-war. Lynch had remarked that if the guards became a little thinner he would make his escape through the windows.[19]

Israel Young's deposition reveals, if Vernon had told him the truth, that the water-works issue of New York bills had been counterfeited on board the *Dutchess of Gordon* and that Governor Tryon supervised that job and tried to engage Henry Dawkins to engrave further plates.

There was enough evidence to convict some of the counter-

[19] *Cal. Hist. Rev. Mss.*, I, 366–67.

feiters or passers. Thomas Hickey was executed for high treason.[20] Dawkins and Israel and Isaac Young were found guilty of counterfeiting and sentenced to be imprisoned. The two Youngs were confined in Litchfield,[21] while Dawkins was jailed at White Plains. Thence on October 19th he wrote to the Provincial Congress that he had but one shirt and one pair of stockings; he had, he continued, been afflicted "with the worst of Enemies, Hunger, the Nauseous Stench of a Small room, where sometimes twenty Persons were Confined together." This had caused a sickness, which, together with the fatigue of travelling, "hath reduced your unhappy Petitioner To a State of Despondency. He therefore being already weary of such a Miserable Life as his misconduct hath thrown him into, Humbly begs for a Termination of His Sorrows by a Death to be inflicted in what manner this Honorable House may think fit."[22] The Congress did not comply with his request, but eventually he was released and was engaged to engrave the seal for the State of New York.

As has been noted above,[23] on June 17th Congress felt that the existing courts of judicature were incompetent to try the soldiers, Hickey and Lynch. Clearly some new legislation was required, and on June 26th a letter was read to the Provincial Congress of New York from John Hancock, who enclosed a resolution of the Congress of the United States, recommending to the State legislatures to pass laws for punishing counterfeiters of Continental currency or passers of such bad bills.[24]

On August 13th when the Provincial Convention voted that £200,000 should be emitted, it was provided that the inscription "tis death to counterfeit" should be placed on the face of or underneath the arms of the State of New York on the bills of this emission. At the same time the penalty of death was fixed for persons convicted of counterfeiting Continental bills or those

[20] *Ibid.*, I, 325.
[21] *Ibid.*, I, 425.
[22] *Ibid.*, I, 308.
[23] See note 14 and the text to which it pertains.
[24] *Journ. Prov. Congr.*, I, 506, and Gaines' *New-York Gazette*, July 22, 1776, p. 3.

issued by any State and the same penalty was set for those who should knowingly pass such counterfeits.[25]

The Youngs and Dawkins were by no means the only counterfeiters brought to the attention of the authorities of New York. On May 22d William Ellsworth, chairman of the Committee of Kingston, wrote the Provincial Congress that James and Lemuel Monger were in the Kingston jail, charged with counterfeiting and passing Continental currency and New York and Connecticut bills. Ellsworth requested advice about dealing with his prisoners, and on May 25th it was voted that the examinations of the Mongers, which Ellsworth had enclosed, should remain in abeyance until the case of Dawkins and his associates was "resumed."[26]

What disposition was made of the Mongers is not recorded. Perhaps they escaped from the Kingston jail, as one Godfrey Hains had just done when Ellsworth wrote about them. In any event, the Provincial Congress soon had to give a decision about a similar matter. On November 5th Nathaniel Sotherly and Archibald Little, Jr., issued a warrant to Joshua Miller to arrest William Murray and Cornelius Thorp of Orange County and bring them to the house of John Brewster to answer before the Precinct Committee to a charge that they had altered Continental bills.[27] Either Murray was not taken or escaped or was released, for the chairman of the Orange County Committee wrote for advice to the Provincial Congress only with respect to Thorp, who was confined in the county jail. The Congress on December 3d replied to the Orange County Committee that all suspected counterfeiters or passers should be jailed and that the county committees were hereby authorized to appoint jailers over such suspected criminals.[28]

At about the same time that the Orange Committee was concerned with Thorp, Robert Boyd, Chairman of the Ulster County Committee, wrote to the Provincial Congress that Henry

[25] *Journ. Prov. Congr.*, I, 571–72.
[26] *Ibid.*, I, 461.
[27] *Cal. Hist. Rev. Mss.*, I, 499.
[28] *Journ. Prov. Congr.*, I, 734.

Winck [or Vonk] and James Briggs had been arrested at New Windsor for passing a three-dollar Continental bill, dated September 2, 1775, which had been altered to thirty dollars. The Congress ordered Boyd to take the prisoners' examinations and send them under guard of the the Ulster County Rangers to prison in Kingston.[29]

Probably Briggs, who was a resident of Peekskill, escaped, for he apparently was not prosecuted. Henry Vonk, however, was kept in jail until February 25, 1777, when he was examined by Messrs. Benson and Swartwout of the Committee for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York. Vonk said that Briggs had altered the bill and given it to him to pass with the understanding that they would share the change received for the bill. Vonk had been in prison many months and he now offered to enlist in the service of the United States. Further, Ensign Brewster in Captain Davis's company of Colonel Livingston's regiment had volunteered to receive him into the company. It was pointed out that the prisoner was almost destitute of clothing and that the public should be relieved of the burden of feeding Vonk in jail "especially as it is doubtful whether he can be tried legally and punished for the above Offence should he be detained in Custody til Courts are erected there being no positive Law of the State against it at the time it was committed." Under the circumstances the Committee allowed Vonk to enlist, had the oath of allegiance administered to him, and he was released from imprisonment.[30]

In 1777 it became more and more apparent that the British authorities were determined to flood the land with bogus currency. One device was to use the newspapers under British control to shake faith in Continental money. Hugh Gaines' *New York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury* of January 6, 1777, contained an article dealing with the disinclination to accept "vile Continental currency." On January 20th the same paper contained this item:

[29] *Ibid.*, I, 708. There was no Continental issue of date given.
[30] *Min. Com. and First Comm. N.Y.*, I, 154–55.

There has lately been, as we understand by a Gentleman just arrived from New-England, a large Distribution in the Country of counterfeited Continental Bills, so admirably executed, as not easily to be discerned from those issued by Order of the Congress. This has contributed not a little to lower their Value, and will be one effectual Bar to their Re-payment or Liquidation.

Three days after this disquieting reflection on the patriots' money, Robertson's *Royal American Gazette in New York* printed the following variation on the same theme: "It appears by the journals of the Continental Congress, that the Printer's account for striking off the bills of credit from January to May, 1776, amounts to 1735 dollars; and the Paper-maker's 707 dollars, for furnishing them with 102 reams of paper for said purpose . . . Query. How many reams have been printed before? How many since? and when will they be paid?" The same newspaper on March 20, 1777, returned to the attack on Continental money. The item in question read:

It is reported by people from the Southward, that the tyrannic Congress, unable to prosecute the destructive war for want of hard stuff, called MONEY, are concerting measures to propose to his Majesty's Commissioners for a reconciliation, on the grounds of taxing the impoverished inhabitants of the several provinces to pay some pitiful dividends on the enormous sum issued by them in paper, though they know full well, no system, but the entire destruction of the inhabitants, could be divised, to pay a fiftieth part thereof in fifty years.—A devilish idea this, to skin the sheep already shorn of their wool:—If there is left amongst them a single man susceptible of conscious guilt reflected by the crimes and public rapine of the band, his heart must tell him that the generous Commissioners must spurn at that system, which will enrich the robber with the spoils of the deluded multitude, for he must know, THAT THEY CAME, NOT TO DESTROY, BUT TO SAVE.

If the plan of Congress should be accepted, every member would become a Croesus, by filling his coffers with grey dollars, and besides there cannot be computed less than a third part of what they have palmed on the public, slily coined and passed away by the very honourable Committees of the province, all of whom would think themselves happy in being clear of accounting to the injured public for their misdeeds; the immense sums counterfeited every where, it is needless to make note of.

This disquisition on the shakiness of the Continental bills was followed by an article that appeared on March 31st in the *New-*

York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury: "In order, as 'tis supposed to increase the Credit of the Continental Currency, a vast Number of Paper Dollars, counterfeited in a very masterly Manner, have been thrown into Circulation in the several Colonies, within the Course of last Fall and Winter. Many Reams have been brought over by merchants and others, and distributed for that Purpose."

The same paper on February 3, 1777, reported the circulation of false dollars, dated 1774, and, on May 12th, of bogus shillings of a bluish cast but, as these items cast no discredit on the paper of the Congress or States, editorial comment was lacking.

The genuine mistrust of American paper bills and the consequent rise of prices quoted in such currency were sources of delight to the loyalist press. The *Royal American Gazette* of August 21, 1777, quoted with apparent satisfaction from "A Letter to Gentlemen Rebels," which had appeared in the *Newport Gazette* of August 14th: " I am told your paper money is falling into disrepute; that is an embarrassment I should conceive!" Rivington's *New-York Loyal Gazette* of November 8, 1777, quoted a gentleman who had been in South Carolina as reporting that in Charleston blankets cost £70 a pair and a suit of plain broadcloth, half worn, £120. With obvious satisfaction the same journal on November 22d stated that such was the credit of the Congress paper that Continental bills were passing at five, six, and even seven for a silver dollar. A week before, the *Gazette* delightedly informed its readers: "By a flag of truce which arrived on Tuesday evening, and left Albany on the 4th inst. we learn, that the necessaries of life have risen to such exorbitant prices as makes them almost unattainable to those not concerned in the rebel army. The currency is reduced to the lowest ebb, and barter is substituted in the place of money."

Perhaps the most disturbing feature of the campaign of the loyalist press to discredit American paper money was the following advertisement which appeared in Hugh Gaines' newspaper of April 14, 1777:

Persons going into the other Colonies may be supplied with any Number of counterfeit Congress-Notes, for the Price of the Paper per Ream. They are so neatly and exactly executed that there is no Risque in getting them off, it being almost impossible to discover, that they are not genuine. This has been proved by Bills to a very large Amount, which have already been successfully circulated.

Enquire for Q.E.D. at the Coffee-House from 11 p.m. to 4 a.m. during the present month.

General Washington at Morristown on April 18th sent a copy of the advertisement to the President of Congress and wrote: "I have enclosed a Copy of an Advertisement published in Gaines' Paper of the 14th, which shows that no Artifices are left untried by the Enemy to injure us. Before the appearance of this unparalleled piece, I had heard, that a person was gone from New York to Rhode Island with a Quantity of Counterfeit Money."[31]

It has been shown[32] that an organized band of Tories in New Hampshire secured false bills from New York and put them into circulation. Cases of counterfeiting and passing that came before the authorities in New York throw further light on the situation which posed such a threat to American currency.

General Alexander McDougall early in March 1777 sent seven prisoners and a letter to the Committee and First Commission for Detecting Conspiracies. At a meeting of this Board on March 5th with Egbert Benson and Melancton Smith present, Sergeant Switcher delivered the letter and the prisoners, as well as some bills thought to have been altered by two of these prisoners, James Kent and Benjamin Howard. Three days later Benson and Smith examined Kent and Howard. Kent denied categorically any tampering with bills or passing them. Howard, however, retracted a previous confession to a Court of Enquiry that he had split a bill. He said he had been induced to make the admission through fear, that he did not recall having confessed the passing of the note. Further, he did not now admit that the hand-

[31] John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931–1944), VII, 434.

[32] Kenneth Scott, "New Hampshire Tory Counterfeiters Operating from New York City," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXIV (1950), 31–57.

writing on the paper pasted on the bills was his but thought it might possibly be his.[33] If Kent or Howard was ever punished, no record thereof has survived.

It came to the ears of Benjamin Lyon, a member of the Committee of Westchester County, that counterfeit money was circulating in Westchester County and in Connecticut and that Jane Crawford, who resided near the line between New York and Connecticut, had, on April 5, 1777, sold a pair of oxen for bills. When Lyon asked Jane to show him the currency, she said she had already parted with it but her seventeen-year-old daughter, Esther, produced a considerable quantity of notes, among them two that were apparently counterfeits, both thirty-dollar Continental bills of the emission of May 10, 1775, numbered 3502 and 8452, signed by Fred Kiahl and A. Morris, Jr. Lyon took these bills, which Jane and Esther said had been passed to them by Thomas Hedden and Thomas Wilson in change for other money.[34]

On or about April 5th Captain Slawsen, with a party that included Daniel Williams, descended on Thomas Hedden's house at night, routed Hedden from bed and searched his pockets. In one of them were found six counterfeit forty-two shilling bills of Massachusetts of the emission of December 7, 1775, signed A. Morgan and Wm. Pynchon, numbers 135, 137, 149, 150, 151, and 156. In the same pocket were also the following bills, perhaps false: one forty-eight-shilling Massachusetts note dated November 17, 1776, signed S. Goodwin and J. Noyes and numbered 1533; a one-shilling Connecticut bill; a ten-shilling New Hampshire note; a two-shilling-eightpence New York bill.[35] Unhappily, there seems to be no record of any prosecution of Hedden.

The next case of counterfeiting to come before the Committee for Detecting Conspiracies was on May 31, 1777, and it throws

[33] *Min. Com. and First Comm. N.Y.*, I, 178, 187.
[34] *Cal. Hist. Rev. Mss.*, II, 91.
[35] *Ibid.*

some light on the passing of false currency brought from New York City. On that day Captain Roger Sutherland appeared before Egbert Benson and informed him that by order of the Committee of Charlotte Precinct he had arrested and brought in Phineas Lounsbury, suspected of passing counterfeit money. Four depositions were then taken: John Wood stated that about the end of April or beginning of May Phineas Lounsbury got him to purchase for £55 (of which £44 consisted of fourteen Massachusetts bills of forty-eight shillings each) a mare from Samuel Haight. Haight subsequently returned eleven of the Massachusetts bills as counterfeit.

Micah Palmer then deposed that about three weeks before, when riding in company with Nathaniel Smith, Smith told him that Lounsbury had bought for £14 in good money £100 in Massachusetts currency and hence could afford to pay so high a price for Haight's mare.

Smith now was sworn and stated that he had seen Thomas Tobias (now with the British) at Lounsbury's. He further heard Tobias say that, when recently coming over Kingsbridge from the enemy, Matthew Partelow offered to sell him, Tobias, £65 of the "sword in hand money" for a note for £15, payable in good money. When Tobias refused, Partelow offered an abatement of twenty shillings. Then, when Tobias declined again, Partelow bade him take the money along into the country and "make the best of it." Obviously Partelow's chief desire was to get the counterfeits into circulation, whether he gained thereby or not.

Lounsbury's own story was as follows: a few days before the purchase of the mare, Thomas Tobias at Lounsbury's house gave him, Lounsbury, two thirty-dollar bills and twenty Massachusetts bills of forty-eight shillings each, which he said he had received from Matthew Partelow, who was going into New York. Lounsbury, who claimed he had no suspicion that the money was false, was to give Partelow half of whatever he purchased with the bills. He gave eighteen of the Massachusetts

ills in payment for the mare, paid away the other two to a pedlar or two silk handkerchiefs, and gave the two thirty-dollar bills to Wood in payment.

Mr. Benson ordered Lounsbury committed to jail but then ccepted bail of £400 (with Zaccheus Newcomb as a surety in £200) for Lounsbury's appearance at the next court of oyer and erminer to be held in the county.[36] As the minutes of the court f oyer and terminer have not survived, the final disposition of Lounsbury's case is not known.

Jacob Russel, who resided near "Pawls" (=Paltz) in Ulster County, came under suspicion as a passer of bad currency. On June 2, 1777, he left £800 with Jonathan Wood, who agreed to purchase a farm for Russel with it. The matter came to the attention of the authorities and on June 12th Tunis Cooper, in the presence of Gilbert Cooper, took from Wood twenty £2 Connecticut bills and sixty-three $30 bills.[37]

On August 4, 1777, the Committee for Detecting Conspiracies met, with Peter Cantine, Jr., presiding. Barnard P. Van Kleek then deposed that on July 22d, when in company with Nathaniel Smith and Hendrick Hendrickson (who said he was a clerk to Comfort Sands, Esq.), he offered to sell a watch to Hendrickson. Smith offered to advance the money, if Van Kleek would accept Connecticut currency. The watch was then sold for thirty-three dollars, and the next evening Van Kleek called at Smith's, where he received from Hendrickson the residue of the sum, part of it consisting of four forty-shilling Connecticut bills. The next day Hendrickson swore before Cantine that he obtained the four bills from Captain Nathaniel Smith but did not know they were false. Smith, who also had been summoned, produced nine more counterfeit Connecticut forty-shilling notes and alleged that he had received the same for a horse from Joseph Smith, "an officer in the Standing Forces raised by one of the New England States." Nathaniel furnished bail of £400, with a surety in the sum of

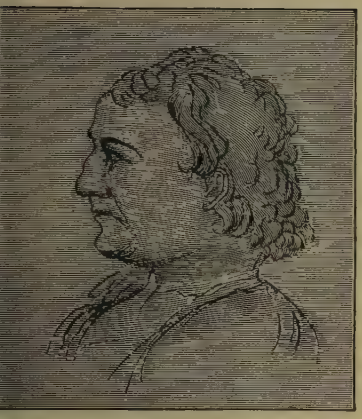
[36] *Min. Com. and First Comm. N.Y.*, I, 309.
[37] *Cal. Hist. Rev. Mss.*, II, 92.

£200, for his appearance at the next court of oyer and terminer,[38] and this is all that is recorded of the affair.

The next day, August 6th, Peter Cantine, Jr., had before him a similar case. Moses Barber appeared and stated that by order of the Committee of Rumbouts Precinct he had brought as a prisoner Benjamin Smith, Jr., while another prisoner, William Clark, had escaped. Both men were charged with passing false Connecticut forty-shilling bills of the emission of May 10, 1775. At the same time Mr. Barber produced a pocketbook, which had been secreted by Benjamin Smith, Jr., containing six of the counterfeit bills, a certificate and a pair of gold sleeve buttons. Smith was ordered jailed, while Clark, who came in and surrendered, was permitted the liberty of the town on parole. At this point Obadiah Smith notified Mr. Cantine that Clark's wife lay dangerously ill and begged that William might be allowed to go home and return on Monday, a request which was granted.[39] Here again, the record of the matter ceases.

The board, meeting on Wednesday, August 27, 1777, with Egbert Benson, Melancton Smith, and Peter Cantine, Jr., present, examined Archibald McKay, who had been taken up for passing to Colonel Humphrey four counterfeit Connecticut bills, which McKay said he had received from Widow Christine Taylor. The widow had informed him that her son, Daniel, had brought the currency from New York City the previous winter and she and her daughters, Ann and Catharine, further informed him that Daniel had brought up a quantity of paper money. McKay had seen a large bundle of currency in the widow's possession but expressed the opinion that neither Mrs. Taylor nor her daughters knew it was bad. When McKay was taking the last bill to Colonel Humphrey, Evert Vosburgh expressed the belief that the bill was false but McKay paid it away none the less. He did, however, at once return to Mrs. Taylor, to whom he related what Vosburgh had said.

[38] *Min. Com. and First Comm. N.Y.*, II, 347–48.
[39] *Min. Com. and First Comm. N.Y.*, II, 349.



MELANCTON SMITH (1744–1798)

Illus., John Fisk's *Critical Period of American History* (1899), p. 369

PETER CANTINE, JR.

Engr. by Isaac Hutton (?), 1798
N.Y. legislators series at NYHS

Captain Beebe, who had searched the widow's house, reported that he found there five half joes and ten guineas in specie. It seems that McKay and the Taylors were a bad lot, for he, the widow and her daughters, together with John Hoff, Mary McKenzy and Mary Fairchild, were charged with having stolen cheeses from the house of Jabez Grippen and were locked up in the jail of Dutchess County in Poughkeepsie.[40] Again, the final disposition of the matter of these counterfeits is not revealed by existing records.

In September, according to the (Kingston) *New York Journal and the General Advertiser* of September 15, 1777, the Supreme Court of Judicature was held in Kingston. Chief Justice Jay gave an excellent charge to the grand jury, which found five true bills of indictment, one of which was for passing counterfeit paper money. The passer was Alexander Cropsey, charged with knowingly passing to Benjamin Freer two false thirty-dollar Continental bills.[41] There is no record of his fate.

[40] *Min. Com. and First Comm. N.Y.*, II, 370.

[41] Minute Book of the Supreme Court, July 25, 1775, to April 28, 1781, p. 115 (ms. in New York City Hall of Records). This will henceforth be cited as Min. Supreme Ct.

When it was learned in May 1778 that three individuals were concerned in passing bogus currency, investigation revealed that on April 30th Lawrence Sharp of Claverack, a laborer, passed at Kinderhook fifteen counterfeit thirty-dollar Continental bills to Hendrick Yager, and also thirty other such counterfeits to John I. Vosburgh, with the intent that Yager and Vosburgh should put them off.[42] On May 13th it was ordered that Christopher Hawk, Constable of Kinderhook, arrest Yager, who was quickly apprehended.[43] Before the end of May, Vosburgh and Sharp were likewise in custody and on May 30th they were taken before the commissioners in Albany.[44]

On July 8th John Lansing, Jr., wrote to the commissioners in Albany requesting the release of Sharp and Vosburgh on bail but their crimes were considered of such a nature that the prisoners could not with consistency be admitted to bail, so it was ordered that they be continued in confinement.[45]

Yager, however, on September 10th was released on bail of £800, provided by himself, with Coenraedt Petrie of the Manor of Livingston, blacksmith, Jacob Bower, of the same place, yeoman, and Peter Wismar of Claverack, merchant, as sureties, each in the amount of £400, for his appearance at the next court of oyer and terminer to be held in Albany.[46]

There is no record of Vosburgh's prosecution, but on September 11th Lawrence Sharp and Robert Van Deusen asked John McKesson, the prosecutor, to issue a writ of habeas corpus to obtain Sharp's release from prison.[47] Probably the writ was not issued. In any event, on October 31, 1778, at a court held in the City Hall in Albany, Sharp was indicted for a misdemeanor in

[42] Pleading 1835 (ms. in N.Y.C. Hall of Records).

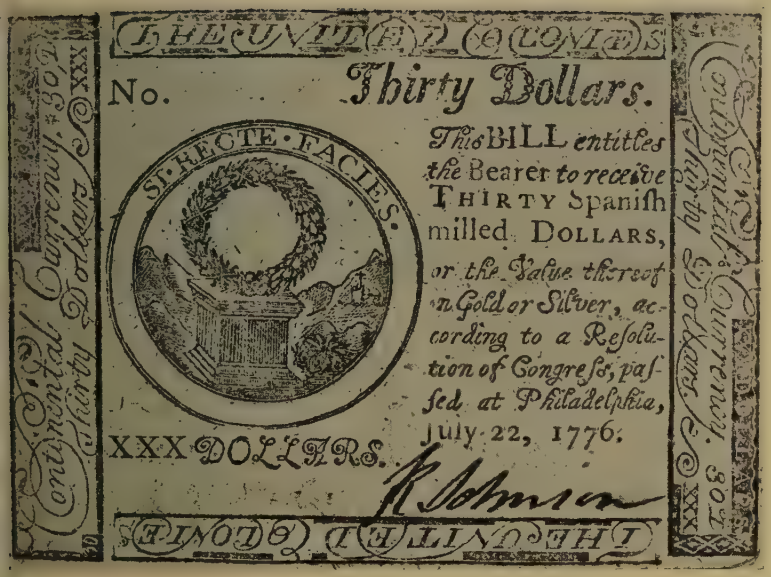
[43] *Minutes of the Commissioners for detecting and defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, Albany County Sessions 1778–1781* (Albany: The State of New York, 1909), I, 114, 188. This work will hereafter be cited as *Min. Commissioners Albany Co. Sess.*

[44] *Ibid.*, I, 136.

[45] *Ibid.*, I, 165.

[46] Pleading 297 (ms. in N.Y.C. Hall of Records).

[47] Pleading 893 (ms. in N.Y.C. Hall of Records).


No.
Thirty Dollars.
This BILL entitles the Bearer to receive THIRTY Spaniſh milled DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to a Reſolution of Congreſs, paſſed at Philadelphia, July 22, 1776.
XXX DOLLARS.

COUNTERFEIT CONTINENTAL THIRTY-DOLLAR BILL OF JULY 22, 1776

From the collection of Mr. Eric P. Newman, St. Louis, Mo.

delivering to be passed counterfeit thirty-dollar Continental bills. He pleaded not guilty and upon the motion of Mr. Lansing, his attorney, the court ordered that the prisoner be admitted to bail in the sum of £500 for his appearance at the January 1779 term of the Supreme Court. Sharp furnished a bond, with Johannes Van Deusen of Kinderhook, yeoman, and Garret Witbeek of Albany, blacksmith, as his sureties, each in the amount of £250.[48]

Sharp was in court in Albany on January 19th but on January 21st, when his case came up, Mr. McKesson informed the court that Sharp had not arrived in the city, the term was short and because of the inclement weather it was improbable that the witnesses could be had. Sharp was therefore bound over to the April term in bail of £300, with Johannes Van Deusen and Burger Claus of Kinderhook as sureties, each in the amount of £250.[49]

[48] Min. Supreme Ct., 145–46.
[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 152, 155, 158.

On April 24th Sharp withdrew his plea and pleaded guilty, so that on May 1st he was fined £40, ordered to be imprisoned for a month, and required to provide a bond of £200, with one respectable freeholder as his surety in the sum of £100, for his good behavior for two years.[50] This was scarcely a punishment of sufficient severity to check counterfeiting.

Two Tories from New Hampshire, John Blair of Holderness and David Farnsworth of Hollis, on October 7, 1778, were arrested at Danbury, Connecticut, and it was found that they had brought with them from New York City 10,007 dollars in counterfeit currency. Blair's examination and Farnsworth's confession made it clear that New Hampshire Tories had already put into circulation great sums of false bills secured in New York.[51] They were tried by court martial, found guilty, and in a letter to General Gates about them General Washington wrote: "The crime of passing counterfeit Bills of Credit, by which our currency has been extremely depreciated, added to the strong suspicion of their being both Spies, will render it necessary to have them executed according to their Sentences."[52] Both, then, were duly executed at Hartford in November.

Two passers of false thirty- and forty-dollar Continental bills, William Bulla and Thomas Woodward, were taken into custody in Albany County on November 13, 1778, and a search of their persons brought to light further such counterfeits, as well as 277 dollars in good money. The prisoners were examined and jailed, and it was ordered by the commissioners in Albany that an advertisement be drawn up requesting all persons imposed upon by the men to bring in the false notes that they might be recompensed out of the good money found on Bulla and Woodward. Thomas Steenbergh produced a false thirty-dollar bill passed to him by Woodward and was then given thirty dollars, plus an allowance

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 170, 174, 178–82, 184, 190, 194, 199, 201–202.

[51] See Kenneth Scott, "New Hampshire Tory Counterfeiters Operating from New York City," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXIV (1950), 45–47.

[52] *Writings of George Washington*, XIII, 54; *cf.* also p. 139.

CONTINENTAL CURRENCY
EIGHT DOLLARS.
THIS Bill entitles the Bearer to receive EIGHT Spanish milled DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to a Resolution of CONGRESS, passed at Philadelphia, May 20, 1777.
MAJORA MINORIBUS CONSONANT
EIGHT DOLLARS.

COUNTERFEIT CONTINENTAL EIGHT-DOLLAR BILL OF MAY 20, 1777
From the collection of Mr. Eric P. Newman, St. Louis, Mo.

of six dollars for coming from Esopus to Albany to present his claim. The commissioners likewise wrote to Jonathan D. Serjeant, Attorney General of Pennsylvania, informing him of the arrest of Bulla and Woodward and requesting him to make enquiry about them. Serjeant sent letters in reply on December 9, 1778, and January 20, 1779, and enclosed a letter from Judge Atlee with data concerning the prisoners.[53] Unfortunately the correspondence has not been preserved, and it is not known whether the two men were brought to trial.

On December 16, 1778, Congress decided upon the recall of the bills of credit approved at Philadelphia May 20, 1777, and at Yorktown April 11, 1778. The redemption call was actually made on January 2, 1779, when Congress stated that "counterfeits of those emissions have lately been issued by our enemies at New York, and are found to be spreading and increasing fast in

[53] *Min. Commissioners, Albany Co. Sess.*, I, 282–83, 285, 287, 304, 321.

various parts of these United States."[54] Again on January 13, 1779, New York was singled out as the source of British-made counterfeits. A circular letter of that date from the Board of Treasury to the various States charged that counterfeiting was carried on by "our enemies of the highest rank" "from their Garrison at New York."[55]

The British in New York continued their counterfeiting operations. On March 25, 1779, General Alexander McDougall, writing from Peekskill to President Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania, observed: "He [the enemy] is now counterfeiting another emission, which will soon be out."[56] Thanks to British counterfeiting as well as the flood of genuine paper money, Gaine's *New York Gazette* of April 26, 1779, reported with satisfaction: "Advices from the Country . . . are that . . . the Continental Money was so depreciated in Pennsylvania, being about 18 to 1, that a Soldier's Pay per Month amounted to no more than two shillings Currency in hard Money." Again, on June 14th, the same paper commented: "Near 200 Continental Dollars were sold in this City last week for ONE ENGLISH GUINEA."

General Washington was, of course, gravely disturbed by the situation. On September 8, 1779, he sent to the President of Congress a report from an American intelligence agent, who informed of the recent preparation by the British "of a new emission of sixty dollars lately done in New-York." The agent inclosed one of the bills, stating that the person from whom he received it had told him that "a great quantity of this kind is put into the country by way of Kingsbridge and Bergen."[57]

Supplies intended for such nefarious purposes in New York fell into American hands when on August 9, 1779, the British ship *Glencairn*, bound from Glasgow to New York, was captured

[54] Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 136, III, folio 7; Gaine's *New-York Gazette*, Jan. 25, 1779, p. 2.

[55] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, minutes of January 13, 1779.

[56] William B. Reed, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1847), II, 58.

[57] *Writings of George Washington*, XVI, 255.

by the frigate *Deane*. Before the British craft struck, it was observed that a box was thrown into the sea. With some difficulty the box was fished out and was found to contain "materials for counterfeiting our currency, consisting of types, paper with silk and isinglass in it &c." The person who had been in charge of the box stated that it was intended for someone in New York.[58]

American intelligence agents naturally sought for the individuals who were doing the counterfeiting in New York City. On December 7, 1779, Washington wrote to the President of Congress:

> I have received a letter from a confidential correspondent in New York . . . the most important part of the letter relates to the indefatigable endeavors of the enemy to increase the depreciation of our currency by increasing its quantity of counterfeits. It asserts, as a matter of certainty, that Reams of the paper made for the last emissions struck by Congress have been procured from Philadelphia. The writer has taken much but fruitless pains to detect the [persons] concerned.[59]

The following year one of Washington's spies on Long Island, Samuel Culper, reported how counterfeits of every emission were being put into the hands of Tories for paying their taxes.[60] One such passer was Thomas Cockayne, who previously had been arrested in Philadelphia in August 1777 with 199 counterfeit thirty-dollar bills on his person—currency which had been sent "from New York City."[61]

From time to time passers of counterfeits were detected. One Tory who brought bogus currency from New York City was Dr. Jonathan N. Mallory (or Mallery), a surgeon of Schaghticoke District in Albany County. It appears that on October 29, 1779, he brought from New York City at least ten false fifty-dollar bills and doubtless more. He lent the ten fifty-dollar bills, dated 26 September, 1778, to Gordon Squires, who paid them out, two of them at least to William Flood. Further, in December

[58] *The Virginia Gazette*, Oct. 2, 1779, 2.
[59] *Writings of George Washington*, XVII, 230.
[60] Morton Pennypacker, *General Washington's Spies on Long Island and in New York* (Brooklyn: Long Island Historical Society, 1939), 95, 266.
[61] *Pennsylvania Archives*, V (1853), 525.

GENUINE CONTINENTAL FIFTY-DOLLAR BILL

Issued under Congressional Resolution of September 26, 1778

1779, Mallory paid to Gilbert Palmer, a farmer of Spencertown, $1,200 in counterfeit fifty-dollar notes for a bay mare and explained to Palmer that he had obtained the bills from his father to purchase a farm for him.[62]

Gordon Squires, about the end of November 1779, showed David Storm, Jr., of Saratoga District, a crossed fifty-dollar bill told him that he had borrowed it and nine others from a person who had recently come to the neighborhood and that the bills had been condemned.[63] Squires also told Bowdewin Kipp of the money borrowed from Mallory,[64] so that, probably through Flood, Palmer, Storm or Kipp, the matter came to the attention of the authorities. Justices John Knickerbocker, Jr., and Young

[62] Pleadings 2260 and 2342 (mss. in N.Y.C. Hall of Records).
[63] Pleading 2260 (ms. in N.Y.C. Hall of Records).
[64] Pleading 2342 (ms. in N.Y.C. Hall of Records).

COUNTERFEIT OF THE BILL OPPOSITE

From the collection of Mr. Eric P. Newman, St. Louis, Mo.

love examined a number of persons, and on February 4, 1780, Gordon Squires was bound over in bail of £500, with his son Jonathan in a like amount, to appear at the next session of the Supreme Court to be held in Albany.[65] The court sat in April 1780, and Gordon, Jonathan and Unice Squires, David Storm, Jr., Gilbert Palmer, and Jonathan Davenport, who was the son-in-law of Squire Culver of Spencertown, appeared as witnesses against Mallory. Mallory was indicted for having brought ten false fifty-dollar bills from the enemy and for having passed the same.[66] Davenport testified that he had refused as counterfeit bills tendered him by Mallory.[67]

Mallory had been arrested and admitted to bail. When he was

[65] Pleading 2637 (ms. in N.Y.C. Hall of Records).
[66] Pleading 2342 (ms. in N.Y.C. Hall of Records).
[67] Pleading 2260 (ms. in N.Y.C. Hall of Records).

now called, neither he nor his surety, Jonathan Dean of Schaghticoke, appeared and the bond was declared forfeited.[68]

It was discovered at the April 1782 term of the Supreme Court that at the time of his indictment Mallory was hiding in the house of Charles H. Tall in Schaghticoke and remained there for some months, keeping company with a Mrs. Deane who lived there, but that he left before she departed about harvest time.[69] Later Prosecutor John McKesson ordered the Sheriff of Albany County to arrest Mallory but the surgeon could not be found[70] and very likely had joined the British.

The Commission for Detecting Conspiracies of Albany County on October 10, 1780, attempted to discover the source of counterfeit Continental bills. The evidence seemed to point to Melchert File, who had put off false currency to Philip Coenradt of Rensselaerswyck Manor and also three spurious fifty-dollar bills to Peter Smith of the same place. There is, however, no evidence that File was arrested or prosecuted.[71] Indeed, it is possible that File was an innocent victim, for at the same time the commissioners traced back counterfeits passed to Ryneir Vischer of Albany to Isacher Childs and from him to a certain Johnson, probably the Evert Johnson, or Jansen, of the Manor of Rensselaerswyck, who in March 1781 was arrested for consorting with Joseph Bettis, a British spy.[72]

On April 19, 1781, the Commissioners wrote a letter to Squire William Whiting of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, enclosing a description of William Scott, who frequently went to New York City and returned with false Continental money. It was requested that Whiting have Scott apprehended but the outcome of the affair is not recorded.[73]

By an act passed on March 8, 1778, New York made it a felony

[68] Min. Supreme Ct., 347, 350.
[69] Pleading 2436 (ms. in N.Y.C. Hall of Records).
[70] Pleading 2078 (ms. in N.Y.C. Hall of Records).
[71] *Min. Commissioners, Albany Co. Sess.*, II, 544–45.
[72] *Ibid.*, II, 545.
[73] *Ibid.*, II, 686.

without benefit of clergy to counterfeit, alter, knowingly to pass when counterfeited or altered, or to bring into the State bogus Continental currency or the counterfeited bills of any of the States. The same substance was contained in a similar act of March 27, 1781.[74]

At the April 1781 term of the Supreme Court, meeting in the City Hall of Albany, two persons were indicted. One of them, John Berry, was presented three times by the grand jury, for passing false forty-shilling Connecticut bills, one to John Rolston, a merchant of Philadelphia, one to Florence Maroney, and four to Coenradt Heyn. The prisoner pleaded not guilty, and his counsel, Peter W. Yates, objected that a copy of the Law of Connecticut whereby the bills were issued must be produced, and to this the court agreed. This objection apparently caused the prosecution to drop, at least for the moment, the indictment against Berry for passing the bill to Rolston. Instead the case was put over to the July session, at which Florence Maroney, James Whitmore, and Coenradt Heyn were required to appear as witnesses.[75] As there is no further record, it is probable that Berry escaped or the government decided not to prosecute further.

The other person indicted was Wilhelmus Lampman, of Coxsackie District in Albany County, a laborer. It was charged that on April 15, 1781, he brought from the enemy to Claverack thirteen counterfeit Continental bills, one of $80, five of $60, two of $50, three of $40, and two of $30. Johannes Van Deusen appeared as a witness against him. Lampman was tried, found guilty and sentenced to be hanged at Albany between 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. on Thursday, May 31st[76]

The evidence indicates clearly that New York City was during the Revolution the chief source of supply of counterfeit American money, both Continental and of various States. Before the

[74] *Laws of New York* (Poughkeepsie: John Holt, 1782), 60, 188.
[75] Pleading 2092 (ms. in N.Y.C. Hall of Records); Min. Supreme Ct., 524, 527 29.
[76] Pleading 2008 (ms. in N.Y.C. Hall of Records); Min. Supreme Ct., 444–45 and 447–48.

occupation of the city by the British, the striking of bills was carried on aboard ships, two of which, at least, were the *Dutchess of Gordon* and the *Phoenix*. The whole business was an official policy of the British Government—as is shown by Clinton's letter to Lord George Germain, by the fact that ships of war served as mints for the money-making and that Governor Tryon on occasion supervised the work. The press campaign carried on by New York newspapers in 1777 was apparently intended to shake Americans' confidence in their currency by stressing the vast amount and excellent quality of the counterfeits in circulation.

The confusion attending upon the change of government and the need for new legislation to cope with counterfeiting doubtless hampered the authorities in the beginning in their efforts to stamp out the evil. The eventual enactment of the death penalty for the crime is not surprising but rather the fact that only one conviction under that law is recorded in the minutes of the Supreme Court of New York. It is, however, quite likely that there were other convictions in the courts of oyer and terminer, where several of the cases were tried, although the records of those trials are no longer extant. Nevertheless, it remains true that the Americans were far less successful in apprehending and prosecuting the culprits than were the British agents in disseminating the counterfeits.

These vast sums of ably executed counterfeits, added to the enormous quantity of bills emitted by Congress, so undermined confidence in the currency that George Washington wrote to John Jay: "a waggon load of money will scarcely purchase a waggon load of provisions."[77] By May 1781, depreciation had gone so far that in Philadelphia an angry mob paraded through the streets with paper money in their hats as cockades, and with a dog tarred and plastered with the Congress' paper dollars.[78] The

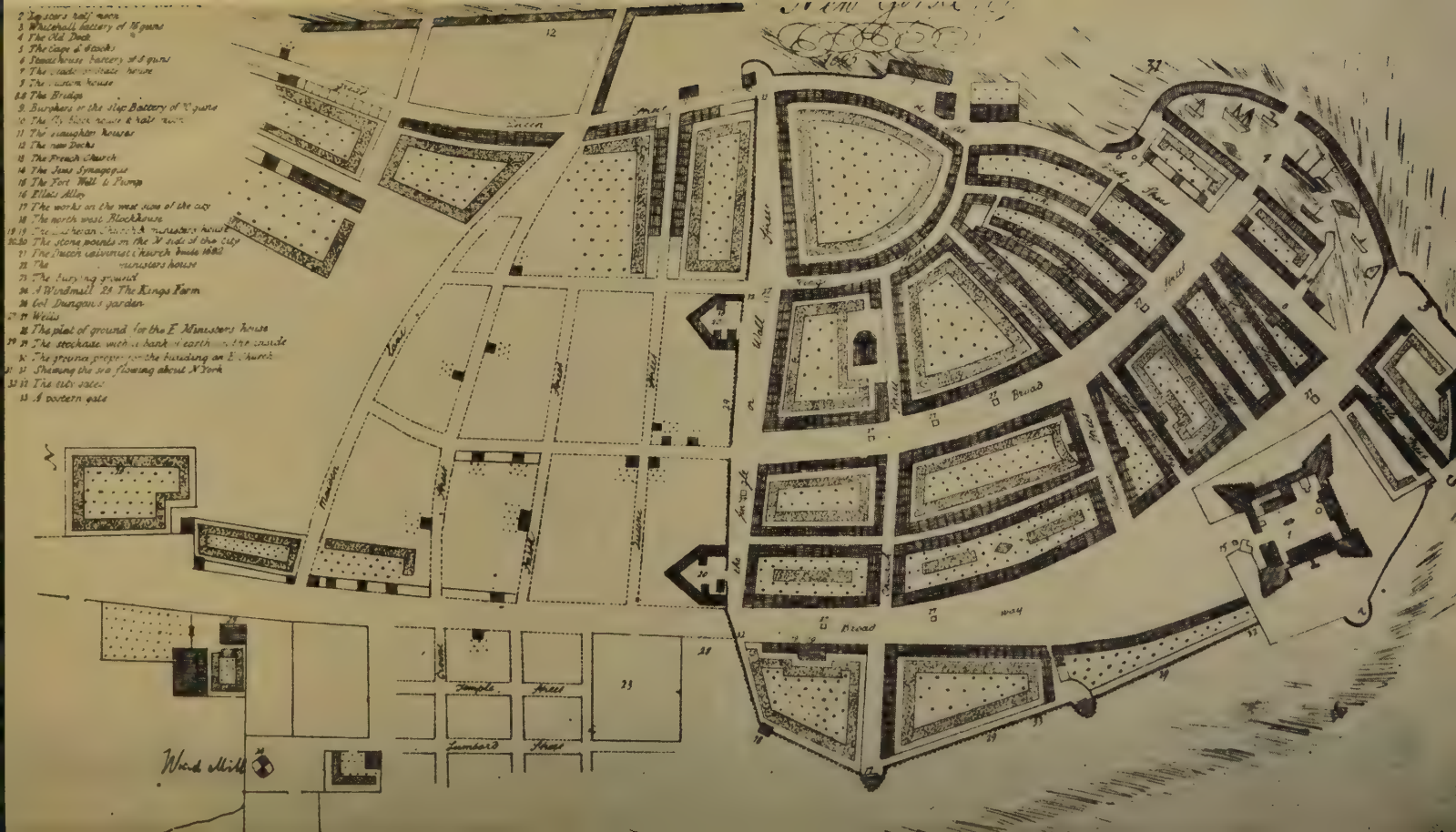
[77] *Writings of George Washington*, XIV, 437.

[78] Philip Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C. The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 323–24.

collapse of the Continental currency was so devastating that "not worth a continental" became a byword in America. There was, however, a bright side to this dismal picture: the undermining of the value of the soldiers' pay led to compensatory land bounties in the Military Tract and elsewhere, which in turn stimulated the expansion and settlement of our frontiers.

Although counterfeiting of American bills may not have proved as disruptive as the British government had hoped, yet the English must have been satisfied that the device of forging enemy bills was highly efficacious, for they employed it soon afterwards against the French by imitating their *assignats* and *mandats*. Unlike their former rulers, the United States, when in turn confronted with a war of rebellion, disdained to emulate the British in adopting this "blackest and most detestable practice." True, individual Northerners did counterfeit Confederate currency in mammoth quantities and passed it off in the South—one such counterfeiter estimating his total output at some fifteen million bogus rebel dollars. In fact, he boasted that Senator Foote of the Southern Congress had credited him in 1862 with doing "more to injure the Confederate cause than General McClellan and his army." In the same year, the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury reported evidence that "Organized plans seem to be in operation for introducing counterfeits among us . . . in any quantity"—but this was the work of private operators and happily without sanction from Washington.[79] Hitler's Reich, however, had no such scruples in using this economic weapon during World War II; at times the Germans were printing five-, ten-, and twenty-pound notes of the Bank of England at the rate of 1,800 an hour. Even so, their efforts proved far less effective in undermining British currency than had British efforts, a hundred and eighty-five years earlier, in undermining the currency of the newly independent United States.

[79] Richard Cecil Todd, *Confederate Finance* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1954), 100–101.


2 The stairs head more
3 Whitehall battery of 16 guns
4 The Old Dock
5 The Cage & stocks
6 Stonie house battery of 8 guns
7 The Guard house
8 The Custom house
8 8 The Bridge
9 Burghers or the step Battery of 10 guns
10 The Fly block house & half more
11 The slaughter houses
12 The new Docks
13 The French Church
14 The Jews Synagogue
15 The Fort Well & Pump
16 Elliots Alley
17 The works on the west side of the city
18 The north west Blockhouse
19 19 The Lutheran Church & ministers house
20 20 The stone bounds on the N side of the city
21 The Queen Catherines Church built 1685
22 The ministers house
23 The burying ground
24 A Windmill 24 The Kings Farm
25 Col Dungans garden
27 27 Wells
28 The plat of ground for the E Ministers house
29 29 The stockade with a bank of earth on the outside
30 The ground proper for the building an E Church
31 31 Shewing the sea flowing about N York
32 32 The city gates
33 A postern gate
Ward Mill
Temple street
Lombard street
Broad way
Broad
Main street
Water street
Wall street
Market street
Church street
Jewry street
Castle street
Fort street
Bridge street
Saccar
Mill
Pump
Well

"DAM'ME DON'T STIR A MAN"

TRIAL OF NEW YORK MUTINEERS IN 1700

Edited by LAWRENCE H. LEDER*

ON OCTOBER 28, 1700, at ten o'clock in the morning, the royal troops stationed in New York City were drawn up before the Fort by order of the Governor, the Earl of Bellomont. Lieutenant Governor John Nanfan had been directed to read to them a law enacted two days earlier by the Assembly, Council, and Governor. As Nanfan began to read this statute, which provided punishment by court martial for mutiny by or desertion from the King's forces, the soldiers became raucous, refused to obey orders, and finally broke out into open mutiny.[1]

Royal troops had been stationed in New York from the time of its conquest in 1664 and were to remain within its borders until the outbreak of the American Revolution, thereby giving the colony a unique position among the British mainland provinces. At first, these soldiers were detached from the Duke of York's companies, but beginning in 1674 a regular, permanent establishment was created of one company of one hundred men. Over the years, the size of the establishment underwent several alterations, and by 1699 there were four companies of fifty men each. In 1701, shortly after the October Mutiny, still another change took place, and the strength of the four companies was increased to one hundred men each; this was to last until 1763.[2]

The need for a permanent garrison in New York was all too obvious, both to the officials in the colony and to the administra-

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[1] Bellomont to Board of Trade, October 28, 1700, Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (11 vols.; Albany: 1853–61), IV, 770–71.

[2] This and the three succeeding paragraphs are based upon Stanley M. Pargellis, "The Four Independent Companies of New York," *Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews By His Students* (New Haven: 1931), 96–123.

tors in London. Sitting astride the vulnerable Hudson-Mohawk invasion route from French Canada, the colony was always open to attack from its unfriendly northern neighbors. Moreover, as the keystone in the defensive perimeter of the British mainland colonies, New York's safety was of vital concern to the entire empire. Thus the royal troops were to provide the core of its defensive strength, while the local militia was to supplement the military forces in times of emergency.

These royal troops, soldiers in the King's pay, upon whom so much depended insofar as the security of British dominions was concerned, were an integral part of the British military establishment. The funds for their pay, clothing, and subsistence were voted annually by the English Parliament. They were under the direct orders of the Governor of the colony and, through him, of the English Crown. The colonial militia, on the other hand, was called to the colors only in times of emergency, was regulated by Provincial law and excepted from any martial law which might apply to the soldiers in the King's pay, and its pay, when on active duty, was provided through grants made by the New York Assembly.

Considering the importance of the royal troops to the defense of the British colonies in America, it would have seemed only sensible for the English government to be lavish in its attention to their needs. This was not the case. The system by which those soldiers were financed had never been efficient, but is became woefully inadequate in the last years of the seventeenth century. The signing of the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 had temporarily ended Anglo-French hostilities. At the same time, it had enabled Parliament to express its hearty dislike of standing armies by reducing the total British forces to 7,000 men and by then failing to make any provision for this token army. Within a space of eight years, the arrears of pay for the entire army were to amount to over £2,000,000 sterling.

Since the royal troops stationed in New York were on the same establishment as those in England, Parliament's negative

attitude resulted in an extremely difficult situation for the Earl of Bellomont. The ordinary delays in transmitting funds, or credits based on them, to New York had necessitated the development many years before of a victualling system in the colony to provide subsistence for the troops. Well-to-do merchants agreed to advance their own funds for this purpose in return for the Governor's pledge of repayment with interest, the latter usually computed at ten percent.[3]

Three men during Bellomont's administration had undertaken the victualling service—Robert Livingston, Peter Schuyler, and Stephanus Van Cortlandt. The first two had advanced about £7,000 (New York) each, and the last-mentioned had expended about £3,000 (New York). They had expected prompt settlement of their accounts, but Parliament's action made that impossible. Should the three victuallers learn that the troops' arrears had been "cutt off," warned Bellomont, "it would set them a madding."[4]

Not only were the victuallers in danger of going bankrupt, but the troops were in a ragged, disreputable state. In describing the condition of the men stationed in Albany, the Governor wrote:

> the Soldiers there in Garrison are in that shamefull and miserable condition for the want of cloaths that the like was never seen, in so much that those parts of 'em which modesty forbids me to name, are expos'd to view; the women forced to lay their hands on their eyes as often as they pass by 'em.[5]

The importunities of the victuallers, the disgraceful state of the troops, and the lack of any cheerful news from London combined to make the Governor complain: "truly I am almost at my wits end; and have the most uncomfortable time of it that ever any man had."[6]

[3] The victualling system, and a substitute for it, are explained in Robert Livingston's memorial to Bellomont, August 25, 1698, Livingston-Redmond Mss. (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.).

[4] Bellomont to Board of Trade, February 28, 1699/1700, O'Callaghan, IV, 608–9.

[5] Bellomont to Board of Trade, July 26, 1700, *ibid.*, 687.

[6] Board of Trade to Bellomont, April 11, 1700; Bellomont to Secretary Vernon, July 29, 1700, *ibid.*, 630–35, 697.

Perhaps even more important than the victuallers' complaints and the Governor's discomfort was the possibility of an uprising by the troops or their wholesale desertion. Both were military offenses, but military justice, due to a peculiar set of circumstances, was not applicable in New York until October 1700. The English Mutiny Act, passed annually by Parliament to govern the conduct of the royal troops, was not made to apply to soldiers in the King's pay who were outside England or Ireland until 1721. Bellomont's original instructions as Governor had empowered him to use martial law against mutineers and deserters among the royal troops in peacetime, but that power was rescinded by a circular letter in 1699. He was directed instead to secure from the Assembly a law to cover the offenses of "mutiny, desertion, and false musters" among the royal troops.[7]

In May 1699, a law to punish desertion by any of the royal troops had been enacted by the Assembly. It contained a flaw, however, which the Governor considered vital:

> I sent your Lordships an Act for that purpose, which we pass'd here in April or May was twelvemonth [*Bellomont wrote in November 1700*]; it was drawn by Mr [James] Graham, but when I would have tryed three deserters when I was last at Albany by that Act I found it defective, for Mr Graham has therein referr'd to an Act pass'd in England during the late War for punishment of those offences, and he has not nam'd the Year wherein that English Act pass'd; and the Act for punishing mutiny and desertion in England having been renewed every session of Parliament and generally with some variations, too, I would not venture to try those deserters at Albany by Mr Graham's Act.

Thus although a statute did exist on the books, its defect, in the Governor's eye, made it invalid. In this, he was more scrupulous than his predecessor, Benjamin Fletcher.[8]

[7] Pargellis, 114–15.

[8] Commissioners of Statutory Revision, comps., *The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution* (5 vols.; Albany: 1894), I, 417–18; Bellomont to Board of Trade, November 28, 1700, O'Callaghan, IV, 781–82. In the winter of 1690 the royal soldiers stationed at Schenectady deserted their post. Governor Fletcher ordered the trial by court martial of those deserters who had been captured. He had no specific authority for this action, but may have based it upon the authority he possessed in wartime as Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the forces. Benjamin Fletcher to Board of Trade, June 10, 1696, O'Callaghan, IV, 160–64.

RICHARD COOTE, EARL
OF BELLOMONT (1636–1701)
Governor of New York, 1698–1701

The invalidity of the Mutiny Act of 1699 was finally remedied with the passage of a new law on October 26, 1700, which was also patterned after the English Mutiny Act, but which made reference to a specific statute.[9] It is possible that Bellomont speeded the passage of this law because of the potentially dangerous situation which already existed in New York. The discontent of the troops then in the colony was fanned by the complaints of a shipload of soldiers newly arrived from Dublin, Ireland. Although the Governor considered these recruits to be "a parcel of the vilest fellows that ever wore the King's livery, the very scum of the army in Ireland,"[10] their grievances were valid. Their passage had taken twelve weeks, their treatment on board ship left much to be desired, and they were now about to receive a 40 percent reduction in pay.[11] The Irish recruits were most vocal in demanding redress, and they inspired the other soldiers to like action, thus precipitating the mutiny.

The incidents which led to this uprising were described in a letter written by Duncan Campbell, Boston postmaster and

[9] Commissioners of Statutory Revision, I, 434–38.

[10] Bellomont to Board of Trade, October 28, 1700, O'Callaghan, IV, 770–71.

[11] Because of a peculiar quirk of logic, the pay of the royal troops stationed in New York was 40 per cent worse than that of their brothers-in-arms in England and Ireland. Although their pay was appropriated by Parliament in pounds sterling, the army had begun the practice in 1691 of paying them in local currency, pound for pound. Since the New York pound at this time was worth 30 per cent less than the pound sterling, and since there was usually a 10 per cent discount on bills of exchange used to transmit the funds to New York, the soldiers stationed in the colony, exposed to greater dangers than those at home, suffered a forty per cent decrease in their pay as soon as they landed in New York. The 30 per cent difference in currency values was placed in a "contingency fund" by the Crown and used for such things as a chaplain's salary, building fortifications, and payment of interest to the victuallers.

friend of Bellomont and Livingston. On the morning of the mutiny, he had been summoned to the Fort. Fearing that "sum mischief or bloudshed had hapend," he found that the town "was all of an uprore by the soldiers that had denyd Comands." On the previous Thursday, a 300 ton vessel under the command of a Captain Burdside had arrived in New York from Dublin, Ireland. Her cargo consisted of 129 soldiers, plus officers, who had spent twelve weeks in their passage to the colony. When Lieutenant Governor Nanfan went aboard to bring the soldiers ashore,

they were not willing to Come till the Capt would paye them so much a man for short allowance which had Set 20 men to a mutiny. The master being wholly a stranger did not know any person. I mett with the master [*Campbell wrote*] and went on board to know how matters was and brought the differences to a Issue for the Capt to paye 14 shilling a man to each of them which was done the last saturday. They Came ashore this day.

Once ashore, these Irish recruits were drawn up before the Fort. There, a total of 200 men were to hear the Lieutenant Governor publish the English Mutiny Act and the New York statute based upon it. At this point, the trouble began anew.

The Left Governor ordered them to march but [they] wold not. They were one and all of a mind not to stir till they had sea subsistance and new Cloths. The Left Governor told them that their Cloths were to Come in the next Ship and they should have their paye when his Lordship received itt, but that wold not [do]. They said they wold all stand to gether upon which the Left Governor went to acquaint his Lordship.

With Nanfan temporarily absent from the scene, the troops decided to take matters into their own hands:

130 went with there Armes and Drew up by the English Church. His Lordship sent for all the officers of the militia who Came Imediatly to the fortt with 200 men, & there was about 30 in the fort of the Soldiers which were all Disarmed and about 80 that Lay with their Armes by the fortt. About one of the Clock there was a message sent to them if they wold quitt their Armes and march to the other side of the fortt and surrender on his Lordship discretion or els they wold Every man be put to the

sword. That party Complyd Imediatly, the most of them were put in the new Chapell in the fort all tied with their hands behind them.

This had not completely solved the problem, however, for there were still another 120 men in the fields. Campbell took it upon himself to meet with those dissidents and, on his way, he

nett three of their heads which Came and told me they were Come with a message to his Lordship and wold have me Deliver itt, but I did not Like their offers. Therefore wold not goe. They asked me to gett Liberty for them to speak to his Lordship which I did. They told his Lordship that they were sent in behalf of the whole to tell his Lordship iff he wold give them or promise to paye their Sea subsistance they wold Lay Down their armes. Those 3 men were all put in Dungeon.

By way of reply to the mutineers, Bellomont had assembled 200 militiamen for use in subduing by force those who would not heed their duty. Once again, Campbell undertook the role of emissary:

I went into the field where the soldiers were and told Some that I knew of them to deliver me their armes and I wold endeavor to gett them off from punishment, which they Readily Complyd with. The Rest offered Complyances iff his Lordship wold promise not to punish them. I told them his Lordship wold not Come to any Capitulation with them. I advised them to march towards the fort and Lay down their Armes, which they Did, and Sent me with a message to his Lordship. His Lordship ordered me to tell them iff they wold Lay Down and quitt their armes and march to the place where they mutinied he wold use his Discretion. I Returned with that Answer which they Complyd with. They were all ordered in at the Sally portt and all made prisoners and will be tryd by a Court martial.

One hundred militiamen were assigned that night to guard the Fort, and Campbell gave as his opinion that from among the prisoners "every tenth man will Dye."[12]

Campbell's prognostication was undoubtedly based upon his

[12] Duncan Campbell to Fitz-John Winthrop, October 28, 1700, Winthrop Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society), XI, 109. Because this letter was written "in hast" and was but a "Ruff coppy," the present author has taken the liberty of modernizing spelling and punctuation whenever it was deemed necessary to do so in order to make clear Campbell's meaning.

knowledge of the Governor's desire of bringing the culprits to a speedy and summary justice. "I have three fourths of the soldiers prisoners," Bellomont wrote, "and will try some of 'em tomorrow, and I am apt to believe we shall hang or shoot ten or a dozen of 'em."[13] Two days later, in accordance with the terms of the New York Mutiny Act, the Governor appointed a court martial to try the mutineers.[14]

This board, consisting of seven judges, a judge advocate, a clerk, and a marshal, convened on October 30, 1700. The proceedings began with a recitation of the powers granted to and limits placed upon the court martial by the Mutiny Act. Those terms may best be summarized as follows:[15]

1. In order to maintain "an Exact Discipline" among the royal troops, mutiny, sedition, and desertion among the soldiers were each to be subject to punishment by court martial.
2. Punishment for each of those three crimes was to be "Death or such other punishment as by a Court Martiall should be Inflicted."
3. The Governor was empowered to call, assemble, and authorize courts martial.
4. No courts martial should number less than seven members, four of whom were to be members of the Governor's Council (including the colony's Chief Justice) and the other three to be "the Chief Military Officers."
5. The court martial was to be held wherever the Governor directed.
6. The court martial could not exempt any officer or soldier from "the Ordinary processe of Law," nor could it include within its purview the activities of the colonial militia.
7. If the crime being tried before it entailed the death penalty, those concerned with the court martial were to take an oath upon the Holy Evangelists to "well and truly try and Determine between our Soveraigne Lord the King and the prisoner to be Tryed."
8. No sentence of death could be imposed without the concurrence of five of the judges and unless it were rendered between the hours of eight in the morning and one in the afternoon.
9. The Governor was empowered to appoint all officers necessary to staff the court martial.

[13] Bellomont to Board of Trade, October 28, 1700, O'Callaghan, IV, 770–71.

[14] "Calendar of Council Minutes 1668–1783," *New York State Library Bulletin 5 (March 1902) History 6* (Albany: 1902), 150.

[15] The trial record has been taken from the Library of Congress Transcripts of the British Public Record Office Papers—CO 5: 1045, no. 18ii.

With this formality out of the way, the proceedings themselves began:

> AT A COURT Marshall held in ffort William Henry in the province of New York on the Thirtieth day of October In the Twelfth Year of his Majesties Reign by virtue of a Comission under the seale of the said province from the Right honorable the Earle of Bellomont Captain Generall and Governor in Chief of the same &ca.

PRESENT Stephen [Van] Cortlandt Esqr Chief Justice, and one of his Majesties Councill

Abraham Depeyster, Robert Livingston, Robert Walters } Esqrs Members of his Majesties Councill in the said province.

Capt Peter Mathews, Lieut. Charles Ashfield, Lieut. Henry Holland } Military Officers

Paroculus Parmyter Gentleman[,] Judge Advocate
Barne Cosens Gentl.[,] Clark.
Richard Hoaks[,] Marshall

The Court being opened by proclamation and the Comission being published and the persons therein mentioned having taken the oath in the said Act mentioned before his Excellency the Governor. Order was given that Certain Souldiers prisoners for Mutiny Sedition and Desertion should be brought up, and tryd for the same and accordingly Corporall James Morris, Robert Cotterrell, Edward Short, Alexander Macashlan, Richard ffleming and William Davis with severall others were brought into court under Guard, and the Judge Advocate Informed the Court of the Charge against the prisoners as followeth.

THAT they with divers others being Souldiers in his Majesties pay and Service in the province of New York, on Munday the Eight and Twentieth day of October Instant at the Garrison and City of New York did Excite cause and Joyn in Mutiny and Sedition, and then and there Deserted his Majesties Service, and Refused to obey the Comands of their Officers appointed to Comand them, in Contempt of and Contrary to their duty as Souldiers, and the good Discipline of warr to the great Confusion and Disorder of his Majesties Garrison and Goverment of this province to the Terror of his Majesties good Subjects therein and to the hurtfull and evill Example of other Souldiers in his Majesties pay in the same.

THE said prisoners Severally pleading Not Guilty, The Court pro-

ceeded to prove the said Offences against them, and the proof was as followeth vizt.

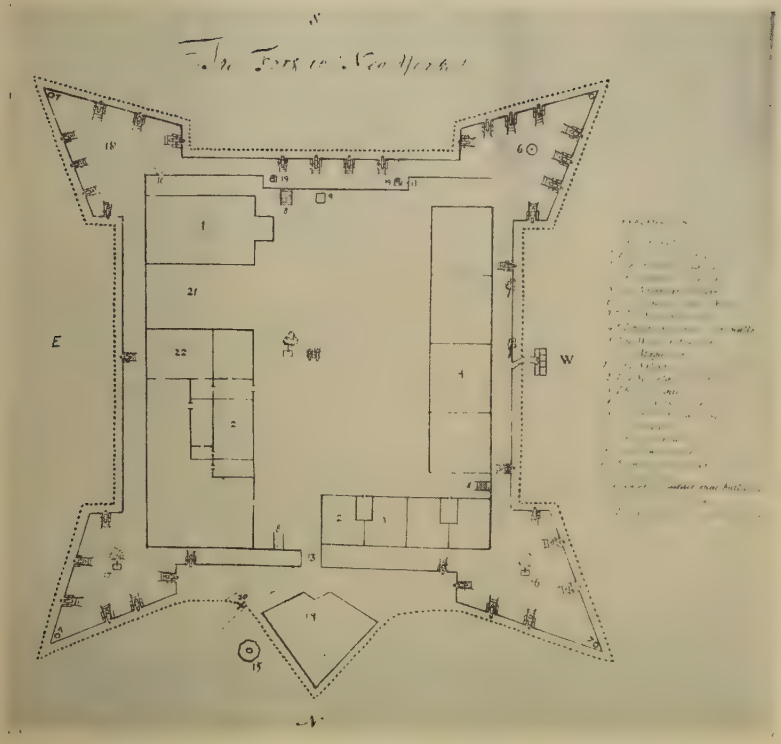
THE HONORABLE JOHN NANFAN Esqr. His Majesties Lieutenant Governor of this province, being sworn on the holy Evangelists of Almighty God Sayth that understanding the Eight and Twentieth Instant, that divers of the Souldiers in his Majesties pay to a great Number were Inclining to make a Disorder, and to prevent them from breaking out into a Mutiny, and that they might not be Ignorant of the Law here lately made against such Offences, Comanded the two Companies belonging to the Earl of Bellomont and himself, with the Detachment Designed for Albany to be drawn up behind the ffort next the North River, and then Rides to them, and after having given them Comands and Exhortations to obey, he Read Loudly to them (being then about the Number of Two Hundred and fifty men as he believed) the late Act of Assembly for punishing Mutiny Sedition and Desertion, amongst which Company of Souldiers were the prisoners in Court vizt Corporall James Morris Robert Cotterrell Edward Short and Alexander Macashlan, who with others having heard the Act Read, shewed great Insolence and Contempt of the same, Upon which Captain Nanfan Comanded them to march severall times, but they all Deneyed, breaking their Ranks, falling into Disorder, and Crying out HALT, HALT, Wee will not March, untill we have our sea pay, English pay, and Cloaths, with diverse other Insolent and seditious Expressions.

THAT Cotterrell in particular was very stirring and Active amongst the Souldiers, and withdrew from the Company to which he belonged, and placed himself in his the said Captain Nanfans Company, and there whilst the act was Reading he very Rudely Interrupted him though often Comanded to be Silent and Continued Afterwards Insolently with others to Stand and HALT and not march as Comanded.

THAT Morris was one of the first and most forward amongst others who presently after the Reading the said Act Came out of his Rank, to his horse side, and told him the Souldiers were resolved to Mutiny, and thereupon he Comanded Morris to Return to his Rank, and Exhort the men to observe their Duty and to be obedient but Contrary thereto Morris was very active amongst them to Stirr up the disorder and Mutiny that followed.

THAT Short was also amongst the rest very forward in demanding his pay with great Insolence and Rudenesse telling the said Lieutenant Governor they would not Stirr without they had their English pay Sea Pay and Cloathes given to them, and also the Souldiers that were prisoners Released, and would there dye if these things were not done, and Refused to march, and Incouraged, and Excited others against their duty.

JOHN RIGGS ffirst Lieutenant in the Lieutenant Governors Company being Sworn on the holy Evangelists of Almighty God Sayth that



JOHN MILLER'S PLAN OF THE FORT IN NEW YORK, 1695

Lithograph from *Valentine's Manual*, 1843–44, after Ms. in British Museum

the Souldiers in great Numbers coming up in a Mutinous manner to the ffort Gate with a Design as it appeared to Surprize the Garrison, he heard Morris amongst others say, Lett us secure the ffort, Secure my Lord, and then secure our Selves, and thereupon attempted to gett into the ffort, which was prevented by shutting the Gates.

THAT Cotterrell withdrew himself from the Earl of Bellomonts Company to which he belonged and placed himself in Captain Nanfans Company, and that the said Lieut. John Riggs finding him there Incouraging the other Souldiers to Mutiny, took hold of him by the Shoulder, and would have drawn him forth, but was hindred and opposed by three other Souldiers that Sided with Cotterrell against their duty.

LIEUT. RICHARD BREWER Being Sworn sayth that ffleming and

Davis two of the prisoners for Mutiny now present were forward and Leading men to Mutiny and Disorder whilst on board the ship that Transported them hither from Ireland.

MATTHEW CLARKSON Esqr. Secretary of the province being Sworn saith that on Munday the Eight and twentieth day of October instant before noon he the Deponent was looking over the walls of the ffort, on the West side of the said ffort in Company with three or ffour of his Majesties Councill of the province of New York where most of the Souldiers in his Majesties Imediate pay, were drawn up under arms, between the place where the Deponent was then Standing, and the North River at which time one Richard ffleming (as the Deponent was afterwards Informed his name was) came and Stood near to the Deponent and the said ffleming did then call to the men under arms after the Lieut. Governor had read the Act of Assembly to the said fforces for punishing Officers and Souldiers who should Mutiny &ca. and particularly to one Green and some others, and bidd them demand their half pay; upon which saying some of the Gentlemen of the Councill as well as the Deponent did advise the said ffleming to be quiet, and told him the Inconvenience of his proceedings. But he the said ffleming seemed not to take notice of the said advice, but in a sort of passion Ran down from the walls, into the ffort, and Imediately came up again, at which time the said fforces did Refuse to obey the Comand of the Lieutenant Governor and their other Officers (Except about Six or Seaven) where he the said ffleming called severall times from the walls DON'T MARCH DON'T MARCH with severall other words to Induce the said fforces not to obey the Comands of their Officers, and after the said ffleming came from the walls to his post he being one of the Guard, and Just as the Earle of Bellomont, went into the house he the said ffleming took up his arms which were then grounded (as the rest of the said arms were) and presented his Muskett and Levelled it at the window of the Room where the said Earl of Bellomont was Just then entred and further sayth not.

BARNE COSENS Gentl. Clark of the Councell of the province of New York being sworn sayth that on Munday the Eight and twentieth Instant, being in the ffort at New York, and with severall of the Members of his Majesties Councill looking over the walls thereof to see the Souldiers newly arrived with the others in arms, and the Lieutenant Governor of this province reading to them the act made by the Generall Assembly for punishing Mutineers and Deserters &ca. and after the same was read with Exhortations &ca. he perceived plainly a Mutiny amongst them, they crying out One and All DAM'ME DON'T STIR A MAN, The Officers particularly the Lieutenant Governor and Lieutenant John Riggs crying out MARCH, MARCH, and the said Lieutenant Riggs sayd. You that will march, March. But they Refused Except only some few who followed Lieutenant Holland out of the Center, that in the Interim a Souldier since known to this Deponent by the name of Richard ffleming

being within the ffort, and one of the Guard that day came on the wall, near where this Deponent was leaning over and called out to the men then under the ffort in Mutiny and Disorder to this or the like purpose (vizt) Gentlmen Don't March till you have your pay for now is the time to gett it if ever. O! God! I'm upon the Guard. I Can't be with you but my heart is with you with much more to the like effect. This Deponent seeing the said ffleming a very likely fellow pittied him, and said to him, ffriend you are in the wrong of it, for if the Souldiers gett any thing by their Mutiny and noise, altho you hold your tongue you will be a partaker, and this forwardnesse of yours may perhaps do you a Diskindnesse, but he still Cryed out Damn him he could not be wronged and hold his peace and kept on Incouraging the Mutineers.

HIS EXCELLENCY the Earl of Bellomont Affirms that he having ordered one ffleming a Souldier to be Comitted to the Main Guard upon Mr. Clarksons &ca Complaint against him, one William Davis also a Souldier and near his Lordship cryed out Boldly and Daringly to his Lordship, then you had as good Comitt us all, and his Lordship endeavouring to Correct and punish him, he suddenly withdrew, upon which his Lordship ordered him to be putt on the Guard. . . .

. . . [*The following morning*,] The Court being opened It was ordered to have the prisoners brought forth. Which was done, and were all severally Charged for Mutiny and Sedition by the Judge Advocate in manner aforesaid and thereunto Jonathan Willford pleaded Not Guilty, then John Butler a Souldier sworn on the holy Evangelists of Almighty God Sayth That he remembers not any particular Expressions, but that there was a generall Mutiny, Severall persons crying out ONE AND ALL and Neglecting the Comands of their Officers, and Sayeth that Corporall Morris Comanded the Souldiers at the Church to ground their arms and that Some obeyed him, some not, and that Willford the prisoner at the Barr Sayd that they would stay behind the Fort untill they had their Sea pay, and hoped to have it by and by.

THE HONORABLE the Lieutenant Governor on oath says that on Munday the Eight and Twentieth Instant when he ordered the Souldiers to March from behind the ffort which was Imediately after the act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion was Read to them, the said Jonathan Willford cryed out HALT, HALT, Don't March, and Refused to March when ordered, and that when he heard that the ffort would fire on them, he the said Willford cryed out, DAMN THEM, Let them fire at the Devill, we will fire as fast as they. And the said Willford owned himself to be one of them that Deserted from his post and went and drew up with others before the Church.

Lieutenant John Riggs on oath Declares to the same purpose as the Lieutenant Governor, and further that Willford sayd, now is the time we must have our Sea pay and Refused to march and was very busy in Exciting the rest.

. . . [*so given in the Ms.*] Lloyd on oath Declares that he went by order of the Lieutenant Governor to Comand the Obedience of the Souldiers when they were at the Church, and that they Refused, and that Willford was amongst them. . . .

[*At this point in the hearings, six soldiers were arraigned and "These Six plead Guilty and throw themselves on the Mercy of the King and the Court."*]

William Clark pleads Not Guilty and No Evidence appearing against him and Mrs Hutchins the Landlady of the said Clark, a woman of Creditt and Reputation Justifying [*sic*, testifying] on oath that the said William Clark was in her house all the time of the Mutiny, and that he Stayed there untill he was Carried from thence by a Guard of the Militia (which was Raised on occasion of the Mutiny) to the ffort he was Discharged.

William Brisbin pleads Not Guilty. Mr. Miles fforster and Mr. Thomas Adams being Sworn both say that on Munday last been [*sic*, being] the Eight and Twentieth Instant about noon being the same time the Mutiny happened, a person came to the house of Miles fforster to buy powder and Bulletts which was the same person William Brisbin that now is on his Tryall. . . .

[*At this point, twenty-one soldiers were arraigned and pleaded guilty.*]

Matthew Herne [,] William Block [, and] Thomas Noble Plead Not Guilty. And Lieutenant Henry Holland Informing the Court that they with some few others were under his Comand and not Disobedient to him, but Marched with him when Comanded and Stayed with him they were Discharged by the Court.

Then the Court adjourned till to morrow morning Eight of the Clock.

At a Court Marshall held at the City hall of the City of New York the first day of November 1700.

Present as Yesterday.

The Court opened, and ordered the prisoners to be tryed to be brought into the Court. Which was done. Who were all Severally in manner aforesaid arraigned and accused for Mutiny and Sedition to which . . . [*twelve soldiers pleaded guilty.*]

Roger Lee pleaded not Guilty and was Discharged on Lieutenant Hollands affirmation of his being at his Lodging all the time of the Mutiny by his order.

John Capper pleads Not Guilty, and acquitted Nothing being proved against him.

Charles Burn pleads Not Guilty, and afterwards Confesses he heard the Lieutenant Governor Read the act while he was under arms, and that notwithstanding he deserted his Officer in the ffield.

William Williams pleads Not Guilty, and Captain Mathews giving a good account of him he was Dismissed.

Thomas Lyon pleads Not Guilty and Discharged on Serjeant Bolters Affidavit that he Marched as farr as Comanded by his Officers. . . .

[*At this point, twelve soldiers were arraigned and pleaded guilty.*]

Joseph Burt pleads Not Guilty and Lieutenant Holland affirming that he was one of them that followed him when he Comanded them to march he is acquitted as also were James Davis & Robert Henderson who pleaded Not Guilty. . . .

[*At this point, ten soldiers were arraigned and pleaded guilty.*]

John Dryden pleads Not Guilty and it appearing that he was wounded and sick in his Quarters at the time of the Mutiny he is acquitted.

John ffitz-gerald pleads Not Guilty Yet owns that he was behind the ffort in arms, and that there he left his arms, some little time after he went to the Church where the Souldiers were in Mutiny, where he found his arms again, and there Joyned with them, that he left the Souldiers there and Surrendered himself to Lieutenant Riggs.

Alexander Allchorn pleads Not Guilty Yett sayes that he was behind the ffort in arms, where he heard the Lieutenant Governor Read the Act of Assembly for punishing Mutineers and Deserters, but did not Submitt at first, but afterwards layd down his arms and went into the Chappell a prisoner amongst the rest.

John Mackentire pleads Not Guilty and no Evidence being against him he was acquitted.

John fford pleads Not Guilty Lieutenant Riggs swears he ordered the Company in which he was Lieutenant to March (of which as he believes) the said fford was one, and they all Refused. But Mr. Riggs's Evidence not being positive against him, the said fford was acquitted.

James Hussey pleads Not Guilty, Yett he ownes he heard Lieutenant Holland comand them to march, and that he Refused being in the third Rank.

Daniell Livingston [,] Evan Samuell [, and] John Friend Plead Not Guilty and no body appearing against them, they are acquitted.

Joseph Collvill pleads Not Guilty and Lieutenant Gwyn Sweares that he remembers Collvill behind the ffort, and notwithstanding his orders to the contrary he left his post and went to the Mutineers at the Church.

William Sherman [,] Thomas Barber [, and] Robert Hand Plead Not Guilty, and one Anne Osburn swearing that they were at her house all that morning, and untill they were fetched out by an Officer they were acquitted.

Alexander Taylor pleads Not Guilty, acquitted not being in arms that day.

Thomas Butler pleads Not Guilty and nothing appearing against him he was cleared on the Character given by his Officers Lieutenant Brewer and Lieutenant Holland.

James Adams [,] Marcus Brown [, and] Evan Jones Plead Not guilty

and acquitted on their officers giving a good Character of them and no Evidence appearing against them.

Dennis Gradee pleads not Guilty and it appearing he was not in arms that day he was acquitted.

John Hodge pleads not guilty and no Evidence appearing against him he is acquitted. . . .

[*At this point, twenty soldiers were arraigned and pleaded guilty.*]

Then the Court adjourned till to morrow morning Eight of the Clock . . . [*when*] The Court being opened it was ordered that the prisoners following be brought into Court (Vizt) Corporall James Morris[,] Jonathan Willford[,] Richard ffleming.

Which being done the Judge Advocate Informed the Court that the prisoners at the Barr had been Charged accused and arraigned for Mutiny Sedition and Desertion to which charge they had pleaded Not Guilty, and then particularly Recited to the Court the Evidence at Large that was given against each of the said parties, Setting forth the Notoriousnesse of their Offences and the Dangerous Consequences that might have attended them, with the great horror and Confusion it brought on the Government, and Danger to the Kings Garrison and Subjects, and that their offences being all clearly proved, and of so horrid and high a Nature, Deserved the utmost punishment that could be given, and prayed the Court to give Judgment according to their crimes. Then the Court on mature Deliberation of the Evidence produced and sworn before them as aforesaid found them all Guilty of Mutiny and Sedition. Whereupon the prisoners were asked if they had any thing to say, why sentence should not pass against them according to Marshall Law, and they Offerring only ffrivilous Excuses that some were drunk and the like The President pronounced the Sentence as followeth.

You James Morris Robert Cotterell Jonathan Willford and Richard ffleming, shall be carried from hence to the place from whence you came, and from thence you shall be brought behind the ffort to the place where the Mutiny Began and there shall be shott to death on Wednesday next between the hours of Eight and Twelve in the fore noon.

Then the Court ordered that William Davis Edward Short & Alexander Macushlan should be brought to the Barr, Together with Peter Morris who had pleaded Guilty, which being accordingly done, the Judge Advocate Informed the Court of their Severall Crimes and Offences, and at large sett forth the evidence that was given against them, and that their offences being fully and Clearly proved deserved severe punishment which the Circumstances of the Kings affairs here Comands may be Inflicted, that for the future the like may be prevented, and good order Discipline and Obedience be kept and Maintained in his Majesties fforces in this province.

Then the Court Declaring them Guilty gave Sentence against them as followeth.

That William Davis and Peter Morris should from this time for the Space of a month ensueing be kept in the hole in his Majesties ffort William Henry in New York, and during that time should be fedd only with bread and Water and that twice every week during the said Time should be severly Whiped on his naked back at the Releif of the Guard.

That Edward Short should be picketted for six days one hour every day, and from this time during the space of a month Ensueing shall be kept in the hole in his Majesties ffort William Henry, and during that time be fedd only with bread and water.

That Alexander Macashlan shall be kept in the hole of his Majesties ffort William Henry from this time during the space of a month next ensueing, and be fedd with bread and water only during the said time, and that he for his further punishment to Run the Gauntlett twice.

Then the Court adjourned till Munday morning Eight of the Clock.

The court opened on Monday, however, only to adjourn again till eight o'clock Wednesday morning, November 6, 1700, at which time:

All the prisoners Except those who had Received Sentence, were called up, and the Judge Advocate was Desired to lay before them their severall Offences, and the greatnesse of their Crimes, the badd and Dangerous Consequences of them, and what they ought and ought not to do, and to demand what they had to offer why Judgment should not be given against them, according to their Severall offences, and Course of Martiall Law;

To whom on the Request of the Court he proceeded.

You have Gentlemen all of you severally had the fairest Tryall in the most publick manner possible for the severall crimes whereof you have been Charged, tryed and arraigned in this Court. You have severally heard your Charges and Accusations, which principally Consist of Mutiny and Sedition and that in a very notorious manner.

To this most of you have pleaded guilty, and such of you as have Stood on your Tryall to maintain your Innocence have upon Evidence Clear and positive been also found guilty, upon which not one of you can find Reason to think he deserves otherwise than a severe Judgment, and what severity soever shall be Inflicted on you cannot Surmount the Merritts of your Crimes.

Your Offence indeed is such as cannot be aggravated being in itselfe not only Mutiny of the Deepest Stain and highest Nature, but of a most dangerous Consequence full of horror and threatning Confusion to this Government for whose preservation and Safety his Majestie hath sent you hither.

You have in Contempt of your Duty to your King and Comander

Raised and carried on such a Mutiny and Sedition, even from the very hour of your Landing, as hath been allmost beyond Example, and to the great Danger and Disorder of the Kings Garrison, and his Subjects of this province, in which also you have boldly proceeded even to the very borders of Treason and Rebellion, for indeed such had your Crimes been, had you moved therein but one Step further, had you Seized the Kings Garrison as you Intended and attempted, or fought and opposed the Kings forces within it as you Resolved, You had then Involved all in blood and given your Crimes the hatefull names and Nature too of Treason Murder and Rebellion. These Things Considered with the high and Dangerous Consequences of Your Mutiny, Your Offences will appear Incapable of any aggravation, and more Especially soe since not one man amongst you, hath been able to find or offer the least Reason to Colour your Rebellious attempts which is yett more haineus [heinous] and Inexcusable in you, since you had the Law before read to you, by which your offences were to be punished.

Some of you I have heard at the time of the Mutiny Insolently demanded English pay, Sea pay, and to have Certain Souldiers in prison Released. To this I must observe to you what your Officers have Assured, that you were all fully payd of [f], to the time of your going on Ship board in England and Ireland, and that the king payd ffive pounds for each mans accomodation and passage to this province, which comes to more than double your pay when in actuall Service in the ffield, and this makes it very Improbable as well as unreasonable that the King should be obliged to advance your ordinary subsistance besides, which you have so daringly demanded, and your Officers say is wholly Impracticable so to do.

But Suppose there had been money due to you your Generall My Lord Bellomont had no Comand or Instruction from England to advance and pay it here. Lett that matter of your Demands be one way or the other, it no way excuses this most rude and unwarrantable proceeding of yours; It is as well to your own shame as against your duty to demand what only you think your due, with Swords in your hands, with a daring Insolence to your Generall and Comanders, and this attended too with Mutiny Disobedience and Rebellion.

This is such a practice as not only never gains your ends, but putts all in a flame, confounds the very ends of a Souldiers duty, betrays the trust putt in his Service, and is Generally attended with blood and Confusion, and Seldom ends but in the losse of the Lives of such as move therein, If at any time you think your Selves under any Grievance, concerning your pay, Subsistance or provisions, You must not your Selves be Judges of your own wild Complaints, but your only warrantable way to be Redressed, is, and must be, to apply your selves with Submission to your Officers, and if they faile to Relieve you, You will not be deneyed the

ustice and Right due to a Souldier, on your humble application to your Generall or Comander in Chief.

Had these things been observed as in Duty they ought, you had not been in this Condition. Obedience, Gentlemen, is the very life and Strength of an army, and all Military affaires, without it (a body of one hundred thousand men) is rather dangerous than Serviceable, and of this none of you can be Ignorant.

It is observed there are three Essentiall Qualifications absolutely necesary to a good Souldier.

First: An English Courage & Resolution.

Secondly. Exact Discipline.

Thirdly. Ready Obedience to Comands.

These three are Indispensably necessary to Compleat a good Souldier n the ffield, neither the one nor the other must be wanting, but least of all can obedience be left out of the Number, the want of which Gentlemen now gives you occasion to want a pardon or Suffer punishment.

Then the Judge Advocate asked the prisoners what they had to offer to the Court, why Judgment should not be given against them, and punishment Inflicted according to their offences. They making no other answer but that they had thrown themselves on the King and the Courts Mercy. The Judge Advocate acquainted them that a pardon was given them by the Governor the Earl of Bellomont at the Intercession of the Judges,[16] which being Delivered to them by Lieutenant Riggs, they were advised to Deliver it into Court which was done, and then the Judge Advocate further acquainted them that My Lord Bellomont their Captain Generall out of his Generous Inclination to mercy, and trusting that they would with their utmost obedience and duty Retrieve their Offences by taking care never to offend in the like manner for the future, hath been willing to pardon and forgive their offences, of which in this Court they have been found, and confessed themselves guilty he did therefore by order of the Court advise them in most humble manner to Return their thanks to his Lordship, and to own to him their faults and Offences, with sorrow and Detestation not feigned but sincere, and give him the Strongest assurances possible of their Sturdy Resolutions to Continue Dutifull, orderly, and obedient, to the Kings Service, and their Officers Comands

[16] The source of the Governor's power to pardon offenders convicted of capital crimes under military justice is not clearly stated. His power to grant pardons to those convicted under regular criminal law was limited somewhat in the commission that he received from the Crown (*see* Royal Commission to Bellomont, June 18, 1697, O'Callaghan, IV, 269). The scope of his authority in military matters was much broader, however: He was empowered "to do and execute all and every other thing or things which to a Captn General doth or ought of right to belong as fully and imply as any our Captn General doth or hath usually done." (*Ibid.*) Thus it probably was from this source that the Governor derived the authority, at his own pleasure, to reprieve or pardon those men convicted by the court martial.

for the time to come, and by that means they would not only obliterate the memory of their Offences, but merritt a fair and just treatment and Regard from their Comanders, who no doubt would not be wanting to Incourage and Reward such Duties.

Upon which after the president had ordered their pardon to be read and given them further directions and Exhortations to keep firm to their Respective duties, as the only means to do his Majestie Service, and make themselves happy under their severall Officers, they were all Discharged.

Four men remained in custody, however, under sentence of death. Despite the sentences they had meted out to these four, and despite the Judge Advocate's excessively moralistic and lengthy peroration, the seven Judges were not at all certain that death should be inflicted upon those unfortunate soldiers. An address was prepared and submitted to Governor Bellomont, together with a statement of seven reasons in support of their plea. These documents, too, were forwarded to the Board of Trade by the Governor, but with some harsh words about the reasoning of the signatories:

they were so very timorous that after they had tryed and condemned the above four men to be shot, they were afraid the sentence should be put in execution, and therefore addressed me that the execution might be respited; as by their Address (No 2) and at the same time they delivered me a paper of reasons on which their said Address was grounded, and the said paper is (No 3). I ask'd those four gentlemen of the Council why they consented to the act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion since they were afraid of it's being put in execution. But it seems some of the lawyers here had put it in their heads that in time of peace it was against the law of England to exercise martial law, and that they ran a hazard of being ruined if the Mutineers suffer'd death by their judgment.[17]

The documents to which Bellomont referred are given below. The validity of the arguments used by the seven Judges can now be examined in the light of the following petition for mercy.

> To His Excell Richard Earle of Bellomont Captain General & Governor in Chief of his Majesties Province of New york and Territoryes Depending thereon in America & Vice Admiral of the Same &c.

[17] Bellomont to Board of Trade, November 28, 1700, *ibid.*, 781–82.

[18] These documents have been taken from the Library of Congress Transcripts of the British Public Record Office Papers—CO 5: 1045, nos. 18iii and 18iv.

The Humble Addresse of the Court Marshall appointed by Virtue of our Lordships Comission, Sheweth:

That by Virtue of the said Comission to us under written Directed on the Second day of November Instant James Morris a Corporall Jonathan Wilford Robert Cotterrell & Richard Fleming were found guilty of Mutiny & Sedition & Received Sentences of Death according to the tenor of an Act of Generall Assembly of this Province made in this present twelfth year of his Majesties Reign for punishing officers & Souldiers Who shall Mutiny or Desert his Majesties Service &ca.

The said Addressors do therefore humbly pray that your Excellency will please to Reprieve the said prisoners and Respite the Execucon of the sentence given against them untill his Majesties pleasure be known in the premises.

And they shall ever pray &c

ROBERT WALTERS
PETER MATHEWS
CHA: ASHFIELD
HEN: HOLLAND

S: V: CORTLANDT president
A: D: PEYSTER
ROBERT LIVINGSTON

AR: PARMYTER Judge Advocate
: COSENS Clerk

The Judges of the Court Martial lately held for the Tryal of certain Mutineers humbly Offer to his Excellency Richard Earl of Bellomont the following Reasons for the Reprieving the four Souldiers now under the Sentence of Death & for which they have most humbly peticoned your Lordship

1. That the King haveing at present no Attorney Generall to advise in matters of Law or Doubt, but is Expected Suddenly.[10]

2. That this act of Assembly on which the prosecucon is grounded is not allowed of by the King. And possibly may be rejected. And this being a matter of Life & the highest Concern of the Subject ought to be tenderly regarded and prosecucon made on the Soundest & clearest Law fully & Compleatly Established.

3. That this Law being wholly new & never yet practised in this or any other of his Majesties Dominions in tyme of peace & this being the

[10] The Attorney General, James Graham, though not officially replaced until January 21, 1700/1, was at this time at his home eight miles from the city and incapacitated by an illness which soon claimed his life. Samuel Shelton Broughton, the first Attorney General of New York to be appointed by the Crown, despite his being "Expected Suddenly," did not arrive in New York City until the following July or take his oath of office until August 5, 1701. *Calendar of Council Minutes*, 152; Bellomont to Board of Trade, November 28, 1700, O'Callaghan, IV, 782; Hamlin and Baker, *Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York 1691–1704* (NYHS, 1952), I: 115–16.

first Offence, it is hoped it may not seem inadvisable to reprieve for some time, or untill some further advisement may be had with his Majesties Attorney General.

4. That the Act of Assembly being made but a day before the Offence comitted may give Occasion to som to think it a matter of great Severity to punish before the Law therein could be rightly appre[he]nded & Conceived.

5. That its generally Observed in England to pardon the first Offence against a new Law Comitted Suddenly after the makeing it, unless in matters of high Treason, or crymes by old & notorious offenders.

6. That tho this Act was read to some of the Soldiers yet many were so intoxicated with Drink that it was not understood & many did not hear the Contents as it appeared in their Tryall. And those that did hear could not So Suddenly apprehend the Causes and punishments therein inflicted.

Lastly. That upon the arrivall of the Attorney Generall Expected the most Exemplary & proper methods may be advised Suitable to the present Circumstances of Affairs & Condicon of the Criminalls.

The seven arguments of the seven Judges were of no avail. On the appointed day, the four mutineers were led out to the place of execution behind the Fort. The events which followed were dutifully recorded by Barne Cosens, Clerk of the Court Martial, in the conclusion of the trial record:

This day according to the Sentence signed by all the Judges, and given the Second of November Instant, James Morris, Robert Cotterrell, Jonathan Willford, and Richard ffleming were brought to the place of Execution behind the ffort, under the Guard of about two hundred and seaventy private Centinells where having with Mr. Vesey the Minister of Trinity Church in the City of New York been in prayers about half an hour, and after all four were on their knees, and two files of Musketteers were Ready to Discharge against them the Lieutenant Governor ordered Fleming and Willford to rise and march off producing to them a Reprieve from my Lord Bellomont, and Imediately thereon Comand was given to fire on the other two which was accordingly done and they both shott to death.

The final fate of Fleming and Willford remains shrouded. No mention seeems to have been made of them in future records. In all probability, the Governor kept them in suspense until he felt that thee attitude of the royal troops had sufficiently warranted their pardon; that he no longer needed them as a possible warning to other malcontents.

ROBERT LIVINGSTON (1654–1728)
By F. W. Wright after unknown artist
Gift of Mr. d'Alté Welch, 1952

ABRAHAM DEPEYSTER (1657–1728)
Repro. from Frederic DePeyster's
Earl of Bellomont (NYHS, 1879)

Similarly, the controversial Mutiny Act's fate is not clear. According to one authority, it expired three years after the Assembly, Council, and Governor had passed it.[20] In 1721, however, any need for a Provincial law on the subject was eliminated when the English Mutiny Act was extended to all troops in the King's pay regardless of their station. This law was never applied in New York for the simple reason that a general court martial was, under its terms, to consist of thirteen officers presided over by a field officer. At no time prior to the year 1763 was there a sufficient number of officers in the colony to constitute a court. Fortunately, only one occasion for a general court martial prior to that date had arisen since the Mutiny of 1700: when the Oswego garrison in 1752 mutinied and engaged in cannibalism, the mutineers had to be sent to Halifax for trial.[21] More than anything else, this record of near-continuous discipline was a tribute to the fortitude and perseverance of the British soldier.

[20] [William Livingston and William Smith, comps.], *Laws of New-York, from The Year 1691, to 1751, inclusive* (New York: 1752), 36, 39.
[21] Pargellis, p. 115.

ST. PAUL'S, 1795, DRAWN BY J. ANDERSON, ENG. BY SCOLES

From *The New-York Magazine or Literary Repository*, October 1795

JAMES CROMMELIN LAWRENCE
(*c.* 1768–1804)

ARCHITECT OF ST. PAUL'S STEEPLE, NEW YORK

by BETTY J. EZEQUELLE

Assistant Curator of Maps and Prints

AMONG the records of New York City's past appears the name of James Crommelin Lawrence, a well-considered architect in his day, but now completely forgotten. His principal claim to our attention was mentioned by the *New York Post* of August 20, 1804, in its notice of his death:

> On Saturday, the 18th inst. at Brooklyn (L.I.) [died] Mr. James C. Lawrence, in the 36th year of his age. He resided in this city about 13 years and was a native of England. Mr. Lawrence drew the plans of St. Paul's Church steeple in this city, and superintended the building.

St. Paul's Chapel, first opened for public worship on October 30, 1766, still stands at the corner of Broadway and Fulton Street, practically unaltered from its original state, except for the addition of the steeple. It is the oldest public edifice on Manhattan Island. A Scotsman, Thomas McBean, designed it, using as his model London's St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, which had been designed by his former teacher, James Gibbs. Considered one of the finest examples of Georgian architecture, it is built of native stone, with quoins and trim of brownstone. So perfectly are the spire and portico proportioned that some historians have assumed that both were designed when the main body of the church was.[1] This can be said only of the portico. The plan of the spire has occasionally been attributed to Pierre L'Enfant,[2] but the archi-

[1] Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture from the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), 553–54. (Hereafter cited as Morrison.)

[2] *Ibid.*, 554. L'Enfant did, however, design the monument to General Richard Montgomery and the window at St. Paul's Chapel in 1787.

tect who was actually responsible has been neglected in the annals of architecture.[3]

James C. Lawrence probably immigrated to this country sometime before 1791, his death notice having established him here during that year.[4] Most early American architects—Mangin and McComb, for example—followed some subsidiary trade, generally as carpenters, builders, or surveyors.[5] Like them, Lawrence maintained himself during the years 1793 to 1795 by work outside his profession; he was the steward (or superintendent) in charge of the domestic management of the New York Hospital.[6]

This was the City's first chartered hospital. Its cornerstone was laid in 1773, but the building was destroyed by fire in 1775 before its completion. Rebuilt, it was requisitioned for troops in 1776 and served as a barracks throughout the Revolution. Thereafter for a while it provided an assembly-hall for the Legislature and rooms for anatomical lectures which occasioned the "Doctors' Riot" of 1788. Not until 1791 was it at last able to open its doors to its first patients.[7] For this occasion, or possibly during the period of his stewardship there, Lawrence made a drawing of the building which was engraved by Rollinson.[8] On the engrav-

[3] Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes in *The Iconography of Manhattan Island* (New York: Robert H. Dodd, 1915–28) does, however, list James C. Lawrence in the index under "Architects and Surveyors." See also *ibid.*, 3: 569–71. (Hereafter cited as Stokes.)

[4] As far as can be determined, New York was the only American city where Lawrence worked.

[5] Stokes, 3: 718.

[6] Minutes and Proceedings of the Governors of the New York Hospital, July 1771–November 1801 (Ms. in office of secretary of New York Hospital); *A Brief Account of the New-York Hospital* (New York: Isaac Collins & Son, 1804).

[7] Stokes, 3: 570–71; *An Account of the New-York Hospital* (New York: Mahlon Day, 1820). The architect of the New York Hospital has not been definitely established. Mrs. Helen A. Collingwood, in her "McComb Family Records" (Miscellaneous Ms., McComb, The New-York Historical Society), states that John McComb, Sr., was the designer but cites no proof. Talbot Hamlin, in the article on John McComb, Jr., in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943), XI: 599–600, also credits the elder McComb, but neither does he explain his reason for the opinion. Carl Bridenbaugh, in *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1955), 230, states that it was a stone structure after a plan of the Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh, Scotland, and that the plan was produced in an intercolonial competition.

[8] Probably William Rollinson (1762–1842), an Englishman who worked as a cop-

A FRONT VIEW OF NEW YORK HOSPITAL, *c.* 1791
"J. C. Laurence Delt." "Rollinson Scult."

ing Lawrence's name as delineator is given as J. C. Laurence.[9] The view shows the front elevation of the Hospital before the third story was added and the roof raised in 1803.[10] It is here reproduced from a restrike of the original copper plate, now lost. It contained the following lettering: *J.C. Laurence Delt. Extends 123 F 10 In.— Rollinson Scult / A Front View of the New York Hospital.* The size of the plate measured 16½ by 10 7/16 inches. Though undated, the view was probably made shortly after the

per engraver in New York City from about 1791 until his death. See Groce & Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America 1564–1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), 545. Charles Rollinson (*c.* 1793–1833), whose father was probably the above William, with whom Charles worked as engraver from about 1808 to 1832, especially on architectural subjects, would have been too young to engrave Lawrence's drawing during Lawrence's life-time. See *ibid.*, 545, and David McNeeley Stauffer, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* (New York: The Grolier Club, 1907), I: 225–26.

[9] There are three instances in which James C. Lawrence's name is spelled "Laurence": (1) on Rollinson's engraving of his New-York Hospital drawing; (2) in the Hospital's own records; and (3) in the advertisement of his partnership with T. Colbourne. The architect himself, however, always signed his name "Lawrence."

[10] Stokes, 3: 571. A cupola was also added, at least before 1811, when it appears in the view drawn by Murray and engraved by Leney. Frontispiece in *An Account of the New-York Hospital* (New York: Mahlon Day, 1820).

Hospital was reopened,[11] and, if so, is the earliest work of Lawrence's so far discovered.

While working as steward, Lawrence also occupied himself at his profession—architecture. Nothing is known of his early training and experience. From the scant remains of his architectural efforts, it is obvious that he adopted and modified the traditions of 18th-century England to suit American tastes. The modesty and economy of the English Renaissance had matched the needs of the American colonists in the early 18th century and the American Georgian style became the inheritor of its best features.[12] These became epitomized in the structure of St. Paul's Chapel, whose steeple was designed and built by James C. Lawrence. On October 3, 1793, there was recorded in the Vestry Minutes of Trinity Church the following: "Resolved. That the Treasurer pay 25 dollars to Mr. Lawrence as a recompense from this Board for the plans of a Steeple drawn by him for their use." The following year, 1794, on March 24th, this entry was made: "Resolved that the Committee appointed for that purpose proceed with the building of the Steeple of St. Paul's Church according to the plan agreed upon by the Vestry."[13]

The original plans of the main body of St. Paul's Chapel cannot now be found, but lithographs of them by Endicott & Co. appear in Morgan Dix's *Historical Recollections of St. Paul's Chapel* (1867). Dix there states that the back of the original plans from which these lithographs were taken bore a manuscript note which he reproduced in facsimile as follows: "This is the plan designed for the New Church to be executed by Messrs Gautier & Willis, 17th of July 1764. [*Signed:*] Jos. Reade, Dan. Horsmanden, George Harison, Andw Barclay, Elias Desbrosses." The

[11] Stokes, 3: 569–71, dates this view as probably drawn in 1791 when the Hospital was opened to patients, and certainly before 1803 when a new story was added. The caption on this restrike of the engraving says it shows the hospital as it appeared in 1776, but this would have been true throughout the period 1776–1803. This view is reproduced here for the first time through the courtesy of The Society of the New York Hospital. I am indebted to Miss Dora Mark of that institution for recovering this restrike for my study and use in this article.

[12] Morrison, 283.

[13] Stokes, 5: 1301, 1306.

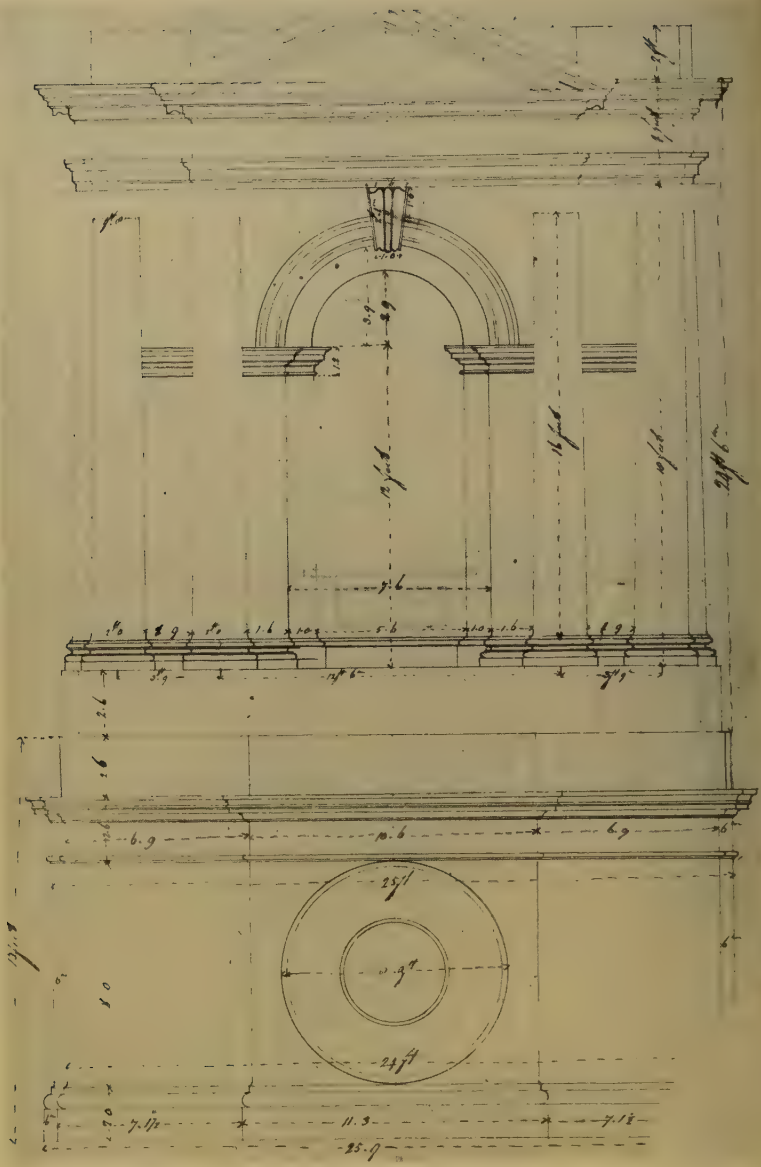
ithographs show the elevation and ground plan of the church. The portico is indicated in each case but the steeple is not, since t was not planned till three decades later. The portico was not constructed immediately, however, for the Trinity Vestry Minutes of September 28, 1767, state that the Vestry planned "to borrow ... the further sum of £600 in order to finish the Portico and Fences of St. Paul's Church."

Of the plans for the steeple of St. Paul's mentioned in the Trinity Minutes of October 3, 1793, and March 24, 1794, there remain only the two drawings—those of the elevation and floor plan of the first story of the steeple—both in the collections of The New-York Historical Society.[14] Both are drawn by the same hand though only one is signed by Lawrence. An attempt has been made to obliterate the signature with that of another person but a careful examination of it reveals plainly the name, "Jas. C. Lawrence" under the legend: "St. Paul's Steeple / New York / 1794." The date 1794 probably signifies that these drawings were made for the workmen after the 1793 plans had been approved and paid for, and perhaps they embody some modifications of the earlier plans. The extant plans do not specify the architectural order to be used for the columns, but these are Ionic in the finished steeple. Unlike the body of the church and the tower, the first story of the steeple which these plans show is constructed of wood, as is the remainder of the steeple.

The construction of St. Paul's steeple, having been begun sometime after March 24, 1794, under Lawrence's supervision, was finished in November of the same year. The *American Daily Advertiser* of December 6, 1794, recorded this event:

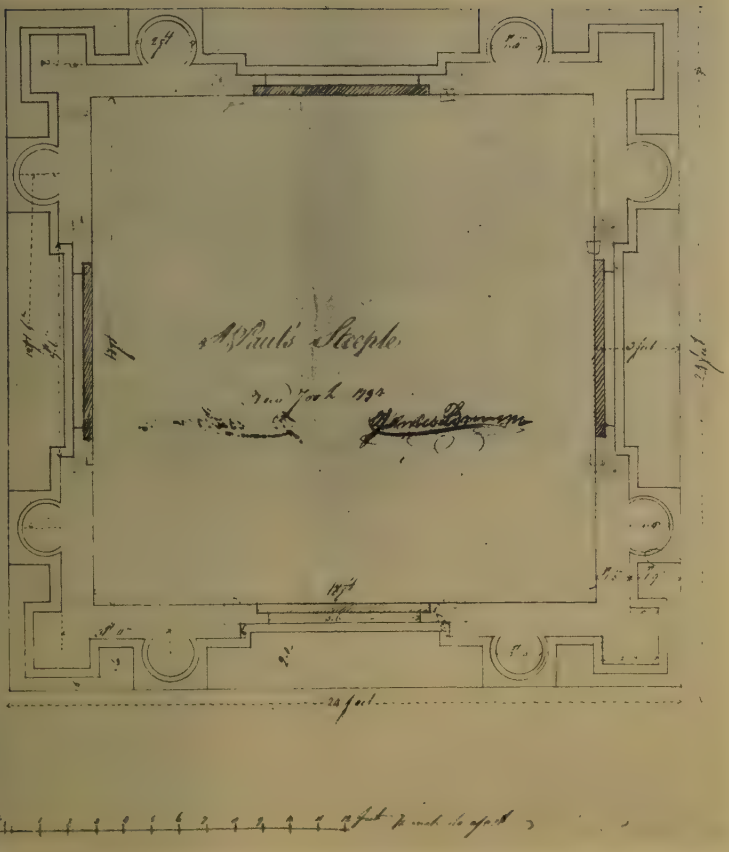
> We announce that the steeple of St. Paul's Church is finished. The last scaffolding was struck on Saturday [December 1st]. This truly beautiful fabric, though constructed wholly of timber, exhibits an appearance of compactness and solidity equal to any stone structure of the kind; and while it displays the skill of the architect, it evinces the good taste of the Vestry.

[14] Stokes, 1: 460–61, lists one of these drawings as among the most important of the identified drawings in the McComb collection at The New-York Historical Society, but does not mention James C. Lawrence as the author.



ELEVATION OF FIRST STORY OF ST. PAUL'S STEEPLE

Drawing at The New-York Historical Society



GROUND PLAN OF FIRST STORY OF ST. PAUL'S STEEPLE
Signed: "New York 1794 James C. Lawrence"
Drawing at The New-York Historical Society

The New-York Journal for December 17, 1794, calls it "an elegant steeple . . . which does honor to the designers and executors."[15] The first known representation of St. Paul's Chapel after the steeple was finished (see frontispiece) is the engraving by John Scoles from the drawing by I. [J.] Anderson in the *New-*

[15] Stokes, 5: 1314.

York Magazine, or Literary Repository for October 1795.[16] Accompanying this view is the following description:

The annexed view of St. Paul's Church is very judiciously taken from the Park, where the foliage of the young trees embellishes the accuracy of the design. This church was built thirty-five years since, and is esteemed the most elegant in the city. The front is an Ionic portico, the pediment of which contains a statue of St. Paul in a niche in the center; and the inside is finished in the Corinthian order, with columns supporting an arched ceiling. The great window in front is adorned with the monument erected by order of Congress to the memory of General Montgomery: the pulpit and altar are designed and executed in a remarkable degree of taste, and the only imperfection appears at the west end, by the deficiency of an organ, the preparation for which, entrances, &c. which it was intended to conceal, are at present a blemish.

The steeple, which was finished last year, completes the external appearance of the building: it is something more than 200 feet from the ground; above the tower rises a quadrangular section, or story, of the Ionic order, with the proper columns, pilasters and pediments; the two next sections are octangular, of the Composite or Corinthian orders, supported by columns at the angles; the whole is crowned with a spire. The church, tower, and first section of the steeple are of stone, the rest is of wood.[17] As no expense has been spared, and the several parts have been directed by persons of taste and capacity, the structure is generally esteemed preferable to most of the kind in the United States.

Lawrence entered into partnership with a T. Colbourne in 1796, the year in which he is listed in the New York directories for the first time. The partners are listed together as architects at 43 Ferry Street with a shop at 34 Barclay Street. In addition, the following advertisement appeared in the *New-York Daily Advertiser* for April 5, 1796:

James C. Laurence and T. Colbourne,[18] Architects and Builders Respectfully inform their friends and the public that they have entered into

[16] This shows the steeple before the clock was added in 1799. Robert M. Kemp, in *Old St. Paul's Chapel* (1896), states that this clock bore the inscription: "made in London by John Thwaites, Clerkenwell, London, 1798." It did service until 1917 when it was replaced by a new one. (*N. Y. Times*, April 24, 1917; Stokes, 5: 1362.)

[17] This statement is in error as to the first section of the steeple being of stone. Thomas M. Bell, the New York architect who recently reinforced the steeple with steel, informs me that, unlike the stone tower on which it rests, the first section of the steeple is of the same material as the spire above it—wood.

[18] H. M. Colvin of the University of Oxford, Oxford, England, informs me that a T. Colbourne is mentioned in the Chamberlain's Accounts of Lymington, Hamp-

artnership, and propose to design and execute such buildings, bridges, r improvements (public or private) as may be intrusted to their manage- ent. From the experience they have had in their profession in London nd in this country, and by assiduous attention to business, they hope to erit the patronage of a discerning public, and the approbation of their nployers. office No 157 Pearl street, where specimens of plans, eleva- ons &c. may be seen.[19]

he partnership was apparently soon dissolved, for the only ubsequent listings of Lawrence's name in the directories—those or 1798, 1799, and 1800—show no partner. Although he identi- ed himself as a builder as well as an architect, James C. Law- nce did not affiliate himself with the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen.[20]

In the same year that Lawrence went into partnership, a new lms House was being built on Chambers Street near Broadway, o replace the old one which had been erected in 1735. The riginal designs for the new building were made by Lawrence. s early as January 20, 1794, the Common Council had decided at, the old building being beyond repair, it would build a new ne to be financed through a lottery. And in June the Council ppointed a committee "for purchasing Materials for the erection f a new Alms House" and advanced the first of several sub- antial sums for that purpose. Then, on November 17th, it Ordered that Ald[n] Stoutenburgh & Campbell & Mr. Janeway e a Committee to direct a Survey of the Land at the Alms House oal & Bridewell preparatory to the erection of a new Alms House." On March 9, 1795, the Council directed that its petition

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ire, as having designed and built a new north gallery in the church there in 1790–92 and erected a similar gallery in 1811. Extensive correspondence with many institutions of learning in England have revealed no similar information concerning awrence. A letter from A. H. Hall, Guildhall Library, London, England, states that mes C. Lawrence is not listed in the London directories prior to 1791. Mr. Samuel . Stillman, M.A., a Fulbright student studying in England, has attempted to find nformation for this writer on Lawrence but has been unable to discover any traces f his activity.

[19] Listed in Rita Susswein Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1777–799* (The New-York Historical Society, 1954), 192.

[20] The records of membership of this organization, which is still in existence, were hecked for me by Mr. Sidney Carpenter, late secretary, and Mr. George Bodfish, resent secretary.

"for a Law to raise £10,000 Lottery toward the building of an Alms House" be presented to the Legislature and on April 7th, "the Legislature having been pleased to grant the Prayer," the Council appointed managers to carry through the project. Apparently Lawrence had been commissioned and had drawn his architectural plans at the time the Lottery Act was under consideration, for, by his own statement, they had been approved by "Members of the Assembly of this State who purposely called on me during the pending Bill for Granting a Lottery."[21] Not until May 16, 1796, however, more than a year later, was it formally

Resolved that the new Alms House be erected on the Rear of the Ground of the present Alms House And that Ald[n] Furman & Lenox & Mr. A. Post be a Com[tee] to cause a Plan of the Ground & of the Build[g] to be made & to report the same to the Board.[22]

And on May 30th:

The Committee for the Purpose reported a Plan of the New Alms House; which was approved of by the Board. And it was ordered that the same Com[tee] take order for the building thereof, as to the Labor & Workmanship by Contract And that they take the necessary Meas. for purchasing Materials and to appoint a proper Person for that Purpose and to superintend the erection of the House. The Stories to be the following Height viz[t] Cellar 9 feet—1st Story 10 feet. 2[d] 10 feet & 3[d] 9 feet.[23]

It seems clear from the following letter, however, that the plans had been executed and approved by committees both of the Common Council and of the State Assembly more than a year earlier. The letter, still on file among the Papers of the Common Council,[24] was probably addressed to Mayor Richard Varick.

[21] *Minutes of the Common Council (1784–1831)*, ed. by A. Everett Peterson (New York: City of New York, 1917) [hereafter cited as M.C.C.], II: 60, 83, 85, 115, 198, 200; Lawrence's letter of August 15, 1796 (see note 24).

[22] M.C.C., II: 239–40. Anthony Post was an alderman of the Fourth Ward as well as a carpenter. He was responsible for various civic improvements, among them the repairs on the City Hall and Gaol (M.C.C., I: 97, 104). According to Mr. Stillman, in a thesis entitled, "Artistry and Skill in the Architecture of John McComb," the principal superintendent of the Government House was also Anthony Post.

[23] M.C.C., II: 243–44.

[24] Letter in metal file "T 1226" (old #17), Municipal Archives, New York City.

New York August 15th 1796

Sir

Having been employ'd by a Committee of the Corporation to prepare Designs for an Alms House for this City & having presented them agreeble to their instructions, which met the Approbation of the Committee & of the Corporation, as well as that of a Majority of Members of the Assembly of this State who purposely called on me during the pending of the Bill for Granting a Lottery[25] for the same, I conceive it proper compensation as promised should be made me— it is now Eighteen Months since I presented the Designs & the whole I have rec'd has been the Mortification of seeing my Designs placed in the Hands of a Man who has professed Enmity to me) to alter them, contrary to the promise of the Committee who employ'd me, should Alterations be necessary, I had repeatedly requested this favor. Mr. Post inform'd me he was desired not to deliver the Designs to me. I am not acquainted with the proper Method of Application to the Corporation have therefore taken the Liberty of Requesting you Sir to present my Wishes of Settlement to them my Acct has been presented by Mr. Carmer[26] & is D°ls 100 & should esteem myself oblig'd in payment—

I am

Your able Servt

No. 43 Ferry Street — Jas. C. Lawrence

A week later this entry was made in the Minutes of the Common Council:

On reading a letter from James C. Lawrence on the subject of his demand of $100 for a Plan or Elevation of the New Alms Hs the Board determined the sum extravagant but agreed that he be paid $50, and ordered that the mayor[27] issue his warrant on the treasurer for the payment thereof accordingly.[28]

It is certain, therefore, that James C. Lawrence was the architect of the "New Alms House" in City Hall Park, although departures from his designs, contrary to his wishes, were made

[25] The $10,000 prize in the Alms House Lottery was drawn by a free Negro named Derry. (*N. Y. Journal*, April 19, 1796; Stokes, 5: 1330.)

[26] The Committee for the Almshouse was ordered on May 30, 1796 to appoint a person to purchase materials and superintend the erection of the "House" (M.C.C., I: 243). A Nicholas Carmer received the appointment. A Document in metal file "T 1226" (old #17), Municipal Archives, New York City, lists the expenditures of monies in connection with the Almshouse and names Carmer as recipient of £286.8 paid by the Corporation of the City of New York to him for superintending the building of the Almshouse from June 26, 1796, to June 7, 1797.

[27] Richard Varick, Mayor of New York City, 1789–1801.

[28] M.C.C., II: 272.

"NEW ALMS HOUSE" (AMERICAN MUSEUM), DESIGNED BY LAWRENCE, 1795

Watercolor by Arthur J. Stansbury, *c.* 1825

Bequest of Mrs. J. Insley Blair to Museum of the City of New York

during the construction. Later plans for altering the Almshouse exist[29] but none of the drawings for the original building are known to have survived. The watercolor drawing made by Arthur J. Stansbury in 1825 shows it to have been a three-story building as contemplated and to have had two projecting bays at each extremity. A view of the building on a map of New York City in 1817 by David Longworth contains this inscription: "New York Institution 260 feet front Built of Brick." This is the only evidence found which states the material of which the building was made. Lawrence did not supervise the erection of the Almshouse as he did that of the steeple of St. Paul's Chapel.[30]

The building was completed on or about May 1, 1797, when the Common Council reported "removing the Inhabitants out of the old into the New Alms House."[31] In 1816 it was renamed

[29] There is a drawing by the architect Alexander J. Davis and an unsigned drawing in the McComb collection of architectural drawings at The New-York Historical Society showing suggested alterations to the Almshouse, but these undoubtedly pertain to the post-1832 alterations.

[30] See footnote 26.

[31] M.C.C., II: 343.

"The New-York Institution" and (along with the American Academy of Fine Arts, the Lyceum of Natural History, the Literary and Philosophical Society, and John Scudder's American Museum) The New-York Historical Society moved into it, eventually occupying four rooms on the first floor with storage space in the basement. In 1832 all guest organizations were forced by the City to vacate and the rooms were altered for the use of the courts. Thereafter the building was known for twenty years as The New City Hall. It was destroyed by fire in 1854.[32]

In addition to the engraving of the New-York Hospital and the plans of St. Paul's steeple, the only extant product of Lawrence's drawing board are three elevations, one signed by Lawrence but none dated, of an unidentified church in the Georgian style. These drawings form part of the collection which belonged to John McComb, designer of the New York City Hall, now owned by The New-York Historical Society. The proportions of the steeple, particularly in its lower portion, as well as some of the other features, greatly resemble St. John's Chapel built in 1803–1807 by John McComb.[33] Lawrence's conception of the main body of the church, on the other hand, with its projecting bay and Doric pilasters and frieze, recalls similarities of treatment in the Murray Street Presbyterian Church also built by John McComb, in 1811–1812. Although Lawrence's design (unhappily, in my opinion) places the frieze below rather than above the second story, the fact that these drawings have turned up in the McComb collection along with some of McComb's own drawings for St. John's Chapel and for the Murray Street Church suggests the possibility that McComb used them for his own purposes. But we can only guess what relationship, if any, existed between the two men. Lawrence

[32] Theodore Sizer, "The American Academy of the Fine Arts," in *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union, 1816–1852* (The New-York Historical Society, 1953), I: 16, 48, 49, 53; R. W. G. Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday* (The New-York Historical Society, 1954), 48–49, 73, 76; Stokes, 3: 584–85.

[33] This church was demolished in 1918. It was Dr. Robert Bosher, historian of the General Theological Seminary, who first suggested to me that these drawings might be related in some way to the building of St. John's Chapel.

during his later years might have been employed by McComb as an architectural draftsman, leaving his unused plans with his employer for future reference, or perhaps his were among the "Several plans of Churches" submitted to the Vestry of Trinity Church in 1803 and were turned over to McComb when the latter won the competition to design and build the Chapel.[34] In any case, Lawrence's plans in the McComb collection are the work of one accomplished in draftsmanship and the art of building design.

The last reference to Lawrence, other than city directory listings, before the 1804 obituary quoted above, is in the New York Common Council Minutes of 1798, when he and Charles Loss were appointed City Surveyors conditionally upon their becoming naturalized citizens.[35] Loss, "having been duly naturalized as a citizen of the United States," was confirmed in the office; Lawrence was not.[36] Probably he failed to meet the citizenship requirements. The New York City directories continued to carry his name as architect and builder only through 1800, when presumably he moved to Brooklyn.

During the remaining four years of his life, it would appear that Lawrence supported his family in part by teaching school. He was only thirty-six when he died on August 18, 1804, and

[34] Stokes, 5: 1406, quotes the Vestry Minutes of Trinity Church under date of May 12, 1803: "Several plans of Churches were laid before the Board [Trinity Vestry] for their approbation, whereupon the one recommended by the committee drawn by John and Isaac McComb was approved of."

[35] M.C.C., II: 477.

[36] M.C.C., II: 542.

FRONT AND SIDE ELEVATIONS OF UNIDENTIFIED CHURCH

The "Side View" (above) is signed: "Ja^{s}. C. Lawrence Architect"

The New-York Historical Society Collections

was interred in the Episcopal burying ground adjacent to St. Ann's Protestant Episcopal Church, Brooklyn.[37] Nothing is known of his wife, but he was survived by at least one child, Charles Crommelin Lawrence.[38]

During his short life, James Crommelin Lawrence displayed, as we have seen, a variety of talents and accomplishments, none of which saved him from obscurity. Nevertheless, he deserves the admiration of posterity for having designed the Alms House which became the third home of The New-York Historical Society and especially for having conceived the plan and supervised the building of the steeple of St. Paul's Chapel.

[37] The burial records of St. Ann's Protestant Episcopal Church show him to have been a "schoolmaster." This church was established in 1787 and incorporated in 1793. Its third edifice now stands at 131 Clinton Street at the corner of Livingston Street in Brooklyn Heights not far from the original location. When the old churchyard was obliterated, its occupants were reinterred in Evergreen Cemetery, but I am unable to find the location of Lawrence's grave there.

[38] Charles Crommelin Lawrence is referred to as the son of James Crommelin Lawrence in a Common Council minute of 1824 pertaining to property owned by the son in Beekman Street, New York City. (*M.C.C.*, XIV: 29.) The architect's name does not appear in the census records of 1790 or of 1800. Presumably he arrived in America after the earlier census and may have been omitted from the latter either because of his seeming negligence to obtain citizenship or because he was in the process of moving from New York to Brooklyn when it was taken.

DEAD MAN'S CURVE

Broadway at 14th Street
Drawn by W. A. Rogers

Harper's Weekly, March 27, 1897

BROOKLYN BRIDGE OPENING

Cable collapse, May 30, 1883
By C. Graham and W. A. Rogers

Harper's Weekly, June 9, 1893

A CHILD'S FUNERAL IN THE ITALIAN QUARTER OF NEW YORK

Woodcut after drawing by J. Durkin

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, July 18, 1891

NEW YORK IN THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLIES

by Frank Weitenkampf*

NO RECORD of New York City is complete without the pictures of the Metropolis and its life which appeared in 19th-century illustrated weeklies. A rich and comprehensive collection of such illustrations is available to historians and their publishers at The New-York Historical Society. There, besides files of *Ballou's Pictorial*, *Harper's Weekly*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, and *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion*, may be found the Harry T. Peters Collection of more than ten thousand wood engravings extracted from those publications for the years 1850–1900. Since these represent so valuable a source of 19th-century New York City history, it may be serviceable to specify briefly the kinds of subject matter portrayed and to discuss the reliability of such portrayals. In those days, before the dominance of the camera, artists on those periodicals were noting the life about them, the manners, habits, and dress of the people, the surroundings in which they moved, the houses in which they lived, their home life, the markets supplying their food, the vehicles in which they were transported, their amusements, their existence generally.

Today the cameraman furnishes most of this pictorial history, particularly in the newspapers. He is apt to catch some detail of an occurrence, rather than a more comprehensive section, to present the posed rather than the natural. The old-time draughtsman could design a composition, giving a more effective, fuller

* Born in 1866, Dr. Weitenkampf has lived in New York City for more than ninety years and observed at first hand much of the changing scene recorded by the old weekly illustrators. For many years he headed the Print Department of the New York Public Library and has published many articles and books on the illustrators and cartoonists of the past century. His own *Manhattan Kaleidoscope* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947) charmingly recounts his reminiscences of the New York scene these illustrators portrayed. A portrait sketch of him is reproduced herein, p. 308.

view, especially when he was allowed a double-page for his drawing. He could coordinate observed details into a compositional structure that presented a broader view to the imagination. In number and diversity these drawings are far more important than the lithographs published by Currier & Ives and others. They are supplemented by the pictorial comics appearing also in the weeklies, signed by John McLenan, Sol Eytinge, Jr., W. L. Sheppard, and others, picturing the city's people from the standpoint of the humorist.

In the pages of these weeklies we walk the streets of the city, noting its architecture and its passers-by. The latter illustrate changes in costume, ranging, for instance, from crinoline to bustle, from the widely flowing trousers that men wore in Civil War days, to the snugly fitting, stiffly pressed trousers of a later fashion. A mere list of the human types and callings illustrated would take more space than could be afforded here.

THIRD ANNUAL MEET OF LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WHEELMEN

Drawn at Riverside Drive by C. D. Welden, 1883
Woodcut from *Harper's Weekly*, June 2, 1883

MADISON SQUARE, LOOKING UP BROADWAY AND FIFTH AVENUE

Lithograph from *New York Daily Graphic*, April 26, 1883

Walking through the city in these illustrations, one sees bits of semi-rural aspect, as in the view in the *Daily Graphic*, November 24, 1879, of the Goelet mansion at the northwest corner of Broadway and 19th Street, with three cows and a number of chickens on the grass plot. Perhaps some artist caught the occasional spectacle of a man leading a cow through the streets. Parks appeared on many a page—Central Park, for instance, with its goat carriages, or Scots playing at curling on the ice. The latter brings to mind other sports—skating, baseball, football, tennis, bicycling—about which the artists had much to say. Then there were such items of temporary interest as the torch-bearing hand of Bartholdi's statue of Liberty (which came over in 1885), displayed in the early 'eighties in Madison Square. The north end of Union Square, a place for open-air meetings, where a Socialist gathering was broken up by the police in 1887, became for some years a spring flower market.

Broadway, Fifth Avenue, and other streets can be traced in

their changing aspects throughout the years. A. T. Stewart's mansion on the northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and 34th Street, and many other dwellings long gone, are held for us in these volumes. And there were details such as the street drinking fountains with a heavy metal cup held by a chain—long before the day of individual drinking cups.

At times Broadway—and later Fifth Avenue—were crowded with parades and onlookers. The once-frequent turnouts of militia regiments were a colorful sight in their various uniforms, a number of which were copied or adapted from Austrian, French, Prussian, or Scottish military garb. There were also smaller affairs, such as the drills of the target companies, typified by the Mulligan Guards; German shooting societies; French, Bavarian, Italian, Polish and other private military organizations, all in the uniforms of their homelands; Knights Templar; butcher guards, and many others. The picture-record also presents such

PARADE IN HONOR OF THE GRAND DUKE ALEXIS, 1873

From balcony of Metropolitan Hotel, Broadway at Prince Street
Woodcut, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, Dec. 9, 1873

A MAY DAY AT THE CENTRAL PARK PLAZA, 1890

Woodcut after Hughson Hawley, *Harper's Weekly*, May 17, 1890

notable funeral processions as those of Lincoln and Grant. Parades were generally headed by police, who figured much in the illustrations which we are considering; they, too, had their annual parade. Still watching paraders, we go through political campaigns and on to election day, before the time of voting machines and the prohibition of electioneering near polling places.

Public transportation is abundantly illustrated. The hacks of what people like to refer to as the "horse and buggy age" (sometimes without knowledge of what a buggy is) recall the hackmen standing at ferry exits soliciting fares. Later came the hansom cabs; there were clumsy imitations of these in the early days of the "horseless carriage." Private carriages of various forms roll over the pages of these volumes, where one may also see sleighing in New York streets. Horse-riding, too, can be seen there at a much later date than one would imagine.

Mass transportation may be followed from the early two-

ALONG THE DOCKS AT WEST STREET, 1869

Woodcut after A. R. Waud, *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 4, 1869

horse stages on Broadway and other streets, the interiors perched high above the wheels, seating about a dozen. W. D. Howells and others have written about them, and here you may see them. Then come the horse cars, including the one-horse and "bob-tails," and after them the cable cars and trolleys. Cable cars recall the turn at Broadway and 14th Street, known as "dead man's curve," pictured in *Harper's Weekly*, March 27, 1897. The elevated railways likewise have their ample pictorial record. And ferries? One may note that Thomas Nast's first drawing for *Leslie's*, done when he was a boy, showed the crowd rushing off the boat when it had docked, and that J. O. Davidson, happening to be on hand when a ferryboat on the Hudson River was rammed, made a sketch of the event and hurried it to *Harper's*. One naturally thinks of bridges here, notably the Brooklyn Bridge, where, shortly after its opening on May 24, 1883, there was a sad accident on Decoration Day. When the weather inter-

DOCK AT HOBOKEN, N. J. (THOMAS NAST'S FIRST DRAWING)

Woodcut, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, Oct. 11, 1856

ıpted traffic, as in snowstorms such as the so-called "blizzard" f 1888, our artists of course had to put it down in black and hite.

Stepping from the streets indoors we see home scenes, ranging, ıy, from groups of young people singing, gathered around iano or parlor-organ, to "swell" society affairs. Other interiors, utside of the home, were also depicted. There were the eating laces. Pursell's may be mentioned, but so many were pictured. ınd places of entertainment: theatres, opera houses, concert alls, the Eden Musée, Reick's Aquarium at Broadway and 35th treet, the cyclorama at Fourth Avenue and 19th Street. Mem- ry brings to mind the vogue of the gypsy bands, of the ıandolin-playing "Spanish students." The illustrators also re- orded many balls, such as the grand affair in honor of the Prince f Wales in 1860, and the elaborate masquerade balls arranged y the Arion singing society.

BLIZZARD OF 1888: N. Y. & SUSQUEHANNA TRAINS SNOWED IN

Woodcut after L. Fosdick, *Harper's Weekly*, March 24, 1888

Very much of all this, and more besides, is to be found in the wood engravings (later halftones) in the weeklies. But this richly varied panorama of the city's life, with innumerable details of interest, must be assembled from all the separate New York City items scattered through hundreds of volumes among thousands of pictures of other subjects. What is wanted is the extraction, the separation, of the pictures having to do with our city. Until all this valuable material has been listed, classified, indexed, and put into book form, as one ideally wishes, the historian, and others to whom the picturesque, pulsating life of this city is of vast interest, will find such collections as The New-York Historical Society's (of which this article offers the merest sampling) a rewarding treasure trove.

DR. FRANK WEITENKAMPF

By James Edward Kelly, 1906

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

eorge Whitefield, Wayfaring Witness. By STUART C. HENRY. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957. 224 pages, biblio., index. $3.75.)

Reviewed by DR. EDGAR F. ROMIG, *Minister, West End Collegiate Church.*

During his first visit to London after World War II, in 1946, this reewer, knowing that Whitefield's Tabernacle on Tottenham Court oad had been destroyed by a bomb, was interested to see what fragents might be left of it. With some difficulty he located the ruins. What ıve certainty to him in his quest was that in the midst of the rubble—with s floor and two of its walls uninjured, and with its furniture unsplintered was the little room where he had met with friends after preaching in the abernacle on a Sunday in the Thirties. And, dramatically erect, on its edestal just outside the room, was a bust of George Whitefield, for hom the first chapel on that site was erected there in 1756.* The obserıtion is presented as somewhat symbolical. In his own generation Whiteeld survived the bitter criticism of those ranged against him; and in the ears since his reputation has risen above both the strictures of those enying his greatness and the forgetfulness of those totally unconcerned out his place in history. The admirable work by Stuart C. Henry is vidence that Whitefield, whose eminence in his own day was well deerved, has distinct meaning for our time.

Laudations appearing inside the jackets of books must at times be taken ith salt. Not so the one in this volume, which is gladly quoted:

"Priest of the Church of England—goad and companion of the fops at ath—confidant of outcasts—idol of 'awakened' Christians on two conents—bane of bishops of his own communion—such was George Whitefield, the evangelistic crusader of the 18th century.

"This new study of one of the most prominent figures in America's Great Awakening discloses the secret of Whitefield's powerful appeal to

* To be doubly sure that the bust seen by me in 1946 was Whitefield's I wrote to ıe Rev. Wilfred Salmon, present superintendent of Whitefield Memorial Church, ottenham Court Road, London. His response, dated Feb. 10, 1958, may be of interest:

"In reply to your enquiry: you are right in your surmise. The life-size bust of eorge Whitefield still stood outside the vestry door after the collapse of the church. his was a modern bust, unveiled by the late Augustine Birrell. Unfortunately it was ter damaged beyond repair by hooligans. The head is buried in the foundations of ur new church, due to be opened on 31st May. The trunk still lies among rubbish in part yet to be demolished and rebuilt. The bust was in marble.

"The church was destroyed by a V2 on Sunday 25th March at 10:30 p.m., the last hurch to be destroyed in Britain. Only one other V2 fell on Britain, and that a few ours later. The church building was in use as a rest centre, and as a hostel for buildıg repair squads. There were 7 deaths, and many more injured.

"The new church, in Neo-Georgian style, will be a worthy building to stand on ıe historic site. The original church was opened by George Whitefield in Novemer 1756."

all classes of people. Though his preaching became a center of controversy, men flocked in vast throngs to hear him wherever he spoke.

"The present work is divided into two parts. 'The Man' takes up the life of this minister who, between the years 1736 and 1770, preached 18,000 sermons; who was a friend of John and Charles Wesley; who came to America seven times and lies buried today under the pulpit of Old South Presbyterian Church, Newburyport, Massachusetts; who published pamphlets, directed charity drives, instituted schools, and founded an orphanage.

"Part two explores the message of Whitefield and tells how it was received. As he preached the doctrine of a sovereign God who could and would save the lowliest, thousands accepted his creed as their creed and his faith as their faith."

Much of part two calls for criticism in a theological journal rather than in this *Quarterly*, but the remainder of the work, well written and amply documented, cannot fail to be of interest to the average reader. Here is the first substantial biography since Belden's, in 1931, of George Whitefield, son of innkeepers, who as early as 1736 demonstrated unusual gifts, when at the age of 22, he was ordained to holy orders in the Church of England and within the same week received the Bachelor of Arts degree from Oxford University. His individuality at the very outset of his ministry was shown in his forthrightness of utterance, his courageous preaching against the evils of his time, his glowing evangelicalism and his genuine compassion for the less privileged. Apparently England was ripe for his message for he never spoke—in Church (when it was allowed him), in prison or hospital, or in the fields—without profound and magnetic effect on his listeners. Despite the constant opposition of some, he attracted throngs everywhere in his native land. Yet as his career is unfolded before us it is evident that America held lure for him as a place to challenge the best in him. It was John Wesley who persuaded him that he was needed in "the wilderness," and particularly in the proprietary colony of Georgia. From the time of his arrival there in 1738 his missionary efforts were attended with success. Entries like this from his journal throw light on his undertaking:

"This being the Day of my Departure, it was mostly spent in taking Leave of my Flock, who expressed their Affection now more than ever. They came to me from the Morning to the Time I left them, with Tears in their Eyes, wishing me a prosperous Voyage and a safe return. They also brought me Wine, Ale, Cake, Coffee, Tea, and other Things proper for my Passage, and their Love seemed without Dissimulation. . . . I think I never parted from a Place with more Regret; for America in my Opinion is an excellent School to learn Christ in; . . . the longer I continued there, the larger the Congregations grew. And I scarce knew a Night . . . when the Church House has not been near full."

Reading these words we can but pass on in an effort to grasp why he

ıade seven journeys to America. The physical accomplishment of the ʼangelist in those days of slow travel is in itself noteworthy. More so is ıe circumstance that in him was a man of colossal endowment, particurly as an orator, who brought the impact of his personality and his essage to audiences in all the colonies from Georgia to Massachusetts. If lenry's work does nothing more it will be precious in the field of Ameriına in illuminating the habits, folk-ways and mass emotions and reponses of our ancestors along the Eastern seaboard in the decades so ıortly to be followed by the War of the Revolution. One might wish ıat the author had brought his vast assemblage of facts on Whitefield in merica into a sharper focus as touching on ascertainable social conseuences of his preaching. Some readers will recall Thomas C. Hall's stateıent (in *The Religious Background of American Culture*): "Whitefield id not live to see the Declaration of Independence, but his sympathy ad been, it is thought, on the American side of the question arising. Vesley took a decided stand on the English side, and then cut himself off ʼom immediate influence on the colonies. . . ." With his abundant store f documented facts on Whitefield, Henry might have taken the thesis ʼom the realm of conjecture and pressed the inquiry farther as to hether the evangelist did help to shape the colonists' will to ultimate esistance of the Crown. That task remains for a future writer.

How England reacted to Whitefield would provide a fascinating exursion, but the temptation must be resisted. Leaders, in the Church, in terature and in the drama, could not ignore him, such was the magnitude f his stature. Whether we read of the praise bestowed upon him by ohnson, John and Charles Wesley, Lady Huntingdon, Garrick, and lanke, or the scorn accorded him by Pope, Walpole, Samuel Foote, ielding, Smollett and William Hazlitt, of one thing we are certain—he et men thinking. And in a strangely provocative way, in this notable porʼayal of his life, he is among us again as a kind of contemporary.

This review must call attention to the fact that the great church in ristol is not St. Mary Ratclif but St. Mary Redclif; also that Vessey, even ıough thus spelled by Whitefield, should be Vesey (the reference is to Villiam Vesey, Rector of Trinity Church, New York); further, that ɔmewhere the reader should be informed that the College of New Jersey ame later to be known as Princeton University. In addition, can one elp wincing when he comes upon words like "happenstance," "needled" for "prodded"), and "coimplicate" (for "coimplicant")?

But our conclusion is on a positive note. In this work Whitefield comes live. It is a thesaurus on its subject, both in the way of its presentation nd in the generosity with which it acquaints one with what the disriminating for more than two centuries have thought of the man whose ones now repose in Newburyport, Massachusetts, where he died sudenly in 1770. One such gem is this by Benjamin Franklin:

"He preach'd one evening from the top of the Court-house steps, which

are in the middle of Market-street, and on the west side of Second-street, which crosses it at right angles. . . . I had the curiosity to learn how far he could be heard, by retiring backwards down the street . . . and I found his voice distinct till I came near Front-street. . . . Imagining then a semicircle, of which my distance should be the radius, and that it were fill'd with auditors, to each of whom I allow'd two square feet, I computed that he might well be heard by more than thirty thousand. This reconcil'd me to the newspaper accounts of his having preach'd to twenty-five thousand people in the fields. . . . From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seem'd as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk thro' the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street."

The American Chair 1630–1890. By MARION DAY IVERSON. (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1957. xiii + 241 pages, 176 illus., appendix, biblio., index. $10.00.)

Reviewed by CAROLYN SCOON.

The belief that antiques are a tangible record of history is well illustrated by this new volume on American chairs. The author approaches the history of chair styles by using specific examples of "historic chairs." She has brought together a large group of chairs which once belonged to some of the famous people of American history. Mrs. Iverson's volume covers two hundred years of chair styles: She begins her story with the wainscot chair said to have been used by John Winthrop, Jr., at his inauguration as Governor of Connecticut in 1657; she ends her survey with a description of a Victorian chair from the parlor of Theodore Roosevelt's boyhood home in New York City. Since the evolution of chair styles contains many elements of design found in other types of furniture, this volume is an aid in the study of the whole subject.

The text is clear, concise, and simply written. All technical terms are defined and many are accompanied by explanatory drawings. Mrs. Iverson has also made use of contemporary advertisements and quotations from diaries and other documents which highlight the biographical detail and help to bring alive each period. Although the last chapter is an interesting exposition of the changing styles during George Washington's lifetime, describing chairs and other furniture owned by him at Mount Vernon, it does not seem to belong in the present volume.

The illustrations are sensitive and accurate line drawings by Ernest Donnelly. It is true that line drawings show details of construction and decoration which might be lost in a photograph, except under carefully controlled conditions. However, it seems to this reviewer that the quality of the wood and the finish of the chairs cannot be adequately reproduced in line drawings. The simplicity of both illustrations and text make this book especially valuable to newcomers to the field of American antiques.

BOOKS FOR SALE BY

The New-York Historical Society

(20% DISCOUNT TO MEMBERS AND LIBRARIANS ON ORDERS OF $5.00 OR MORE)

William Smith, *The History of the Late Province of New-York, from Its Discovery to the Appointment of Governor Colden, in 1762* (1830). 2 vols. totalling 780 pp., $15.00.

Thomas Jones, *History of New York during the Revolutionary War, and the Leading Events in the Other Colonies at That Period* (1879). 2 vols. totalling 1555 pp., illus., index, $15.00.

Dorothy C. Barck, ed., *Letters from John Pintard to His Daughter, Eliza Noel Pintard Davidson, 1816-1833* (1904-41). 4 vols. totalling 1386 pp., illus., index, $12.00.

Donald A. Shelley, *Catalogue of American Portraits in The New-York Historical Society* (1941). viii+374 pp., 430 illus., indexes, $1.50.

William Sawitzky, *Matthew Pratt, 1734-1805: A Study of His Work* (1942). x+103 pp., 43 plates, index, $5.00.

Harold E. Dickson, *John Wesley Jarvis, American Painter, 1780-1840, With a Checklist of His Works* (1949). xx+476 pp., 105 illus., index, $10.00.

Calver & Bolton, *History Written with Pick and Shovel: Military Buttons, Belt-Plates, Badges, and Other Relics Excavated from Colonial, Revolutionary, and War of 1812 Camp Sites by the Field Exploration Committee of The New-York Historical Society* (1950). xiv+320 pp., 218 illus., index, $3.50.

Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record 1826-1860* (1943). 2 vols. totalling 680 pp., index, $6.00.

Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union 1816-1852,* with a history of the Academy by Theodore Sizer, of the Art-Union by Charles E. Baker, and a Foreword by James Thomas Flexner (1953). I: *Introduction,* xiv+311 pp., illus.; II: *Exhibition Record,* 504 pp., frontis., index; 2 vols., $7.50.

Rita Susswein Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York 1726-1776* (1938). xviii+450 pp., index, $3.00.

Same, *1777-1799* (1954). xix+484 pp., illus., index, $4.00.

R.W.G. Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday: A Sesqui-Centennial History of The New-York Historical Society 1804-1954* (1954). xix+547 pp., 180 illus., index, $6.00.

Theodore Bolton and Irwin F. Cortelyou, *Ezra Ames of Albany: Portrait Painter, Craftsman, Royal Arch Mason, Banker, 1768-1836; And a Catalogue of His Works* (1955). xx+398 pp., 120 illus., index, $4.95.

Philip L. White, *The Beekmans of New York in Politics and Commerce 1647-1877* with an Introduction by Dr. Fenwick Beekman (1956). xxxi+705 pp., 57 illus., index, $10.00.

Philip L. White, ed., *The Beekman Mercantile Papers 1746-1799* (1956). 1485 pp. in three vols., $25.00.

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